

**‘TWO MEANE FELLOWS GRAND PROJECTORS’:
THE SELF-PROJECTION OF SIR ARTHUR INGRAM AND LIONEL
CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX, 1600-1645, WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO THEIR HOUSES**

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Abstract

Arthur Ingram and Lionel Cranfield were part of the early modern phenomenon of social mobility, rising from humble merchants to titled gentlemen in one generation. Cranfield, especially, reached significant heights in a matter of years. Despite the fact both men have merited biographies which chart their commercial and political careers, little attention has been paid to their lives outside of the political sphere leaving room for an analysis of their family and personal estates and the extent to which they utilised their houses in their self-projection. The originality of this thesis lies in its comparison of the two men which not only highlights their dependency on each other and mutual advertisement of each other's image, but also opens up the question of regional disparity in house building as Ingram's country estates were situated in Yorkshire whereas Cranfield's were mainly close to London.

The first chapter introduces the issues of social mobility, self-fashioning, and regionality, provides a literature review and explains the methodology employed. Chapter 2 looks at the careers and families of Ingram and Cranfield before examining the ways in which they furthered their ascent through the fashioning of their attire, education and learning, and social networks. The thesis then focuses on the houses of both men, with Chapters 3 and 4 considering how they built and styled their houses. Chapter 5 examines the craftsmen and materials employed by Ingram and Cranfield on their building programmes and in particular the geographical location of their houses. Chapter 6 discusses the way Ingram and Cranfield furnished their residences and how their households were related to the local community, particularly in terms of hospitality. The gardens and grounds that surrounded their houses are the subject of Chapter 7. The thesis concludes with an evaluation of the significance of Ingram's and

Cranfield's houses in the self-projection of their image and how far the geographical location of their residences affected how successful this was.

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Abbreviations

EEBO	Early English Books Online
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England

Archives

BL	British Library, London
CKS	Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone
ESRO	East Sussex Record Office, Lewes
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, Lambeth
NYCRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton
PA	Parliamentary Archives, Westminster
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments, Westminster
WYASL	West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds
YCA	York City Archives, York
YMA	York Minster Archives, York

Printed Primary Sources

<i>Chamberlain</i>	<i>The Letters of John Chamberlain</i> . Edited by Norman Egbert McClure. 2 Vols. Memoirs of The American Philosophy Society 12, Parts 1-2. Philadelphia: Independence Square, 1939.
<i>Cranfield Papers I</i>	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of Major-General Lord Sackville, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., [formerly] preserved at Knole, Sevenoaks,</i>

Kent. Volume I: Cranfield Papers 1551-1612. Edited by A. P. Newton. HMC 80. London: HMSO, 1940.

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Note on Transcriptions and Manuscripts

Original spelling, punctuation and capitalisation has been retained throughout. All dates have been modernised, with the new year beginning on 1 January rather than 25 March. References to manuscripts in the Cranfield papers not only give the Centre for Kentish Studies catalogue number but also numbers relating to the organisation of the papers by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. All numbers in square brackets preceded by the letters ON refer to the first numbers given to these documents by Professor Newton when he was preparing *Cranfield Papers I*. Newton only numbered the documents dated until 1624, consequently manuscripts after this date only have one reference, the CKS catalogue number. Newton did begin to re-number the papers but as he did not finish this task only the old numbering [ON] is used. Both Tawney and Prestwich published their accounts on Cranfield's life whilst many of the Cranfield papers were held in the National Archives, hence they do not include the catalogue references ascribed to the documents by the Centre for Kentish Studies in Maidstone.¹ Tawney and Prestwich only identify the manuscripts by the old numbering system established by Newton which makes locating specific documents in the Maidstone repository extremely difficult. To aid future researchers the old numbers have therefore been included, where possible, alongside the CKS catalogue references.

¹ The Cranfield Papers were deposited at the Kent Archives Office, the predecessor of the Centre for Kentish Studies, on 14 February 1968 as accession 1349.

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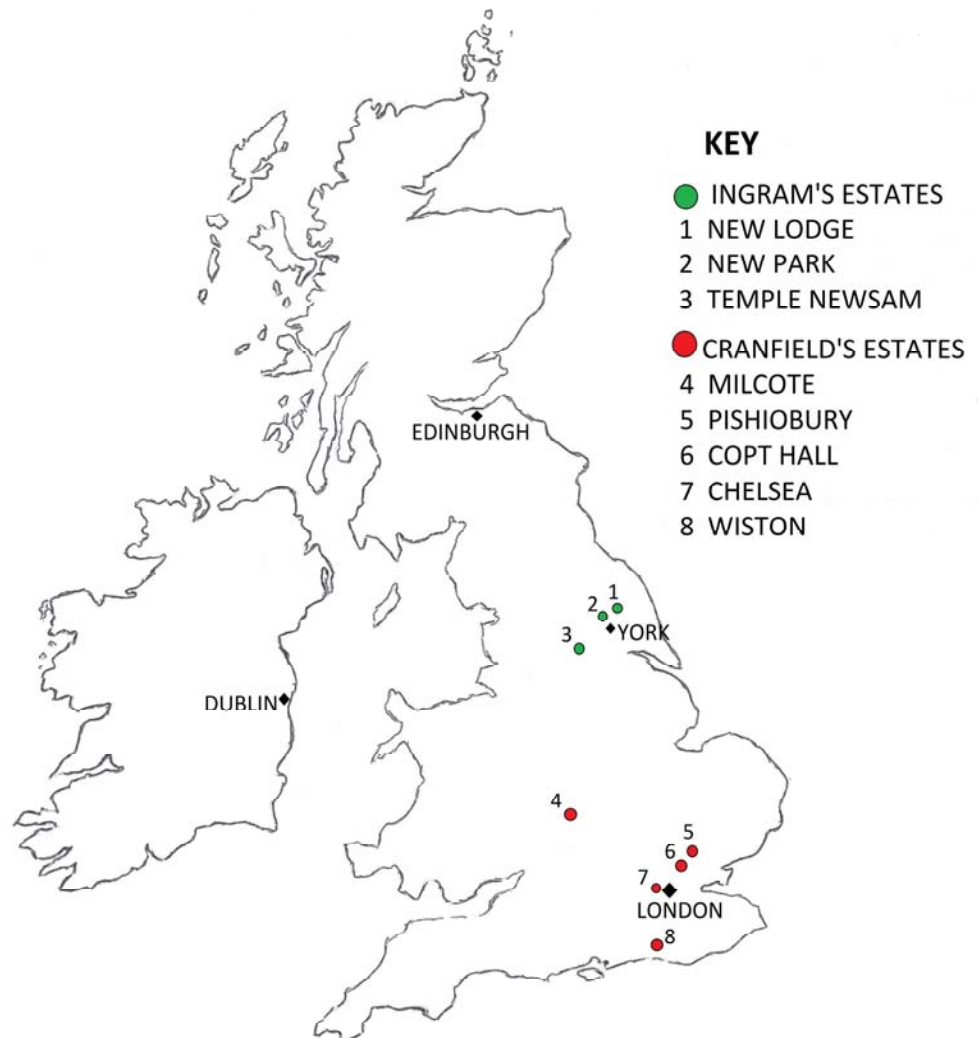
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Map 1: Ingram and Cranfield's country estates



Introduction

‘Two meane fellows grand Projectors’.¹

Sir Anthony Weldon’s impression of Arthur Ingram and Lionel Cranfield’s introduction to court encapsulates the anxiety experienced by the established gentry at the increasing pace of social mobility in the early seventeenth century. However, Weldon not only showed contempt for Ingram and Cranfield’s humble birth by the use of the term ‘meane’, his specific labelling of the two men as ‘projectors’, suggests a deeper prejudice. The derogatory associations connected to the term ‘projector’ within this age were widely understood: ‘The very name [projector] became a dirty word in the early seventeenth century, synonymous with rogue and speculator’² Both Ingram and Cranfield made their money through projection, usury, and trade, but this knowledge of customs and links to the finances of courtiers, not only attracted prejudice it also facilitated their social and political ascendancy.³ Once they began to infiltrate the higher social strata they indulged in conspicuous consumption to vindicate their place within these elite circles as the projection of themselves became an important tool in their quest for further wealth and power. The ways in which they attempted to foster their image through cultural channels will be explored and analysed throughout this study. Their way of life, the homes they built, and the material consumption in which they indulged

¹ Sir Anthony Weldon, *The court and character of King James whereunto is now added The court of King Charles : continued unto the beginning of these unhappy times : with some observations upon him instead of a character / collected and perfected by Sir A.W.*, (1651), p. 80.

² Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 17.

³ For a discussion on the farming of customs in the period and specific analysis on the utility of the farmers as money-lenders to the crown see Robert Ashton, “Revenue Farming under the Early Stuarts,” *The Economic History Review*, n. s., 8, no. 3 (1956): 310-322.

is analysed with a view to present a comprehensive account of the lives of the two gentlemen and the struggles they faced in achieving and then maintaining their position in society.

The thesis interweaves this line of enquiry with an exploration of the effect of geographical location on the building programmes of Ingram and Cranfield. The two gentlemen merit comparison because, although they had similar experiences at court and in business, their estates were at opposite ends of the country; Ingram's houses were in Yorkshire and Cranfield's properties mainly in the counties around London. Both men owned numerous estates; Ingram had Yorkshire property in Armin, Castleford, Barnsley, Birdsall, Brackenbrough, Bridlington, Halifax, Hatfield, Hemingbrough, Hessle, Houghton, Howden, Huntington, Leeds-Holbeck, and Nefferton, and the manor of Drinkerton in Suffolk. Cranfield owned land in Barn Elms, Donnington, Ebury, Forthampton, Luddington, Drayton and Dodwell, Rushford, and Siston.⁴ Both Ingram and Cranfield acquired many estates through their exploitation of gentlemen in their debt. The exchange of land they made between each other in 1622 is a clear example of their ability to profit from others' misfortune and reveals why many of their contemporaries disliked them.⁵ The lands Ingram proffered to Cranfield consisted of the Warwickshire manors of Milcote, Welford, Weston, and Goldicote, and the Gloucestershire manor of Sezincote, which he had earlier gained from Sir Edward Greville. In 1615 Greville was facing economic ruin after racking up great debts with

⁴ For Ingram's estates see Upton, pp. 44-52; a list of Ingram's yearly rents from his estates at the time of his death in August 1642 is found in WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/5. For Cranfield's estates see F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London 39: The Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 1: General History*, (London: Athlone Press, 1977), p. 2; see also Prestwich, pp. 419-421, 507; specifically for Barn Elms – pp. 385, 387, 411; Donnington – pp. 74, 472; Ebury – pp. 258-9, 385, 389, 478-9; Forthampton – pp. 411, 501-3, 527-9, 567-70, 587-8; Luddington, Drayton and Dodwell – pp. 411, 478; Rushford – p. 472; Siston – pp. 542, 587-8.

⁵ CKS, U269/1 T20 [ON8158]. For further details of the land exchange see Prestwich, pp. 400-411 and Upton, pp. 157-9.

Ingram and Cranfield, mainly due to the failure of domestic starch production which Greville had backed.⁶ Ingram agreed to marry Greville's daughter, Mary, as a way of alleviating Greville's debts. As a condition of the marriage Ingram was to take over Greville's estate, worth approximately £21,000, but still provide Greville himself with a £900 annuity from the estates along with agreeing to let him live at the family home in Milcote. It was agreed that the money would also provide Ingram's new bride with £800 a year and pay off Greville's debts to Sir Thomas Bennett.⁷

Cranfield had also gained the lands he proposed to exchange with Ingram, including the manors of Altofts and Wakefield in Yorkshire, and the manors of Laughton and Scotton in Lincolnshire, from gentlemen in financial difficulties. Cranfield purchased Wakefield Old Park from Sir Richard Gargrave for £2,000 in 1608.⁸ Gargrave had squandered away his inheritance and had no choice but to sell Wakefield to Cranfield. It is evident that Cranfield took advantage of Gargrave's desperate financial state; only three years later he valued Wakefield at twice the price he bought it for. Gargrave himself was dissatisfied with Cranfield's treatment of him, and wrote to him after his impeachment threatening to petition parliament, which appeared to work as Cranfield later paid him.⁹ A year after his purchase of Wakefield Cranfield bought the manor of Altofts for £2,097 from Peter Frobisher.¹⁰ That Frobisher was unable to manage his finances is clear from the numerous requests for money found in Cranfield's papers, the majority written from

⁶ Upton, pp. 18-20, 71, Prestwich, p. 70, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 154-158; Ingram and Cranfield had also dealt with Greville in the buying of rectories and chantry lands from the crown, see *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 144-5.

⁷ Upton, p. 71. See Chapter 2, pp. 70 and 75-76 for further detail on Ingram's marriage to Mary Greville.

⁸ Prestwich, p. 75.

⁹ Prestwich, pp. 75-6.

¹⁰ Prestwich, pp. 76-7.

the Compter prison.¹¹ One imploring letter from Frobisher reasoned, ‘I praye you I am nott the firste thatt did fall ... so I shall nott be the Laste, for nowe I finde all men knowes the beginninge of their Lyfe, but nowne knowes their endinge,’ almost prophesising Cranfield’s fall.¹² The manors of Scotton and Laughton, in Lincolnshire, were acquired by Cranfield in July 1621.¹³ The estates had previously been seized by the Crown from Sir Roger Dallison, Master of the Ordnance office, due to large debt. Due to his political influence Cranfield was able to buy the lands at a good rate and pay in instalments, and Prestwich comments that ‘[t]he chicanery and bullying which Middlesex showed in the Dallison affair help to explain why he was so disliked.’¹⁴ Cranfield’s dubious acquisition of these lands was cited at his trial which also caused a rift between Ingram and Cranfield as neither was prepared to take responsibility for the lands which had been part of their exchange in 1622.¹⁵ The negotiations between the two men whilst carrying out the exchange were also strained and reveal the suspicious nature of both their characters, along with their geographical preferences for the situation of their houses, which is discussed in Chapter 3.

Despite the substantial number of houses owned by both men, this thesis will focus on the main residences where they themselves lived or regularly visited. These are York Palace, New Lodge at Sheriff Hutton, Temple Newsam near Leeds, and New Park in the Forest of Galtres for Ingram, and Pishiobury in Hertfordshire, Chelsea House, Copt Hall in Essex, and Wiston in Sussex for Cranfield, (Maps 1, 2, and 3). The location of the men’s country residences, including Ingram’s York town house (Map 4), provides the

¹¹ CKS, U269/1 T33.

¹² CKS, U269/1 T33, [ON1068], 15 February 1611.

¹³ Prestwich, p. 395.

¹⁴ Prestwich, p. 397.

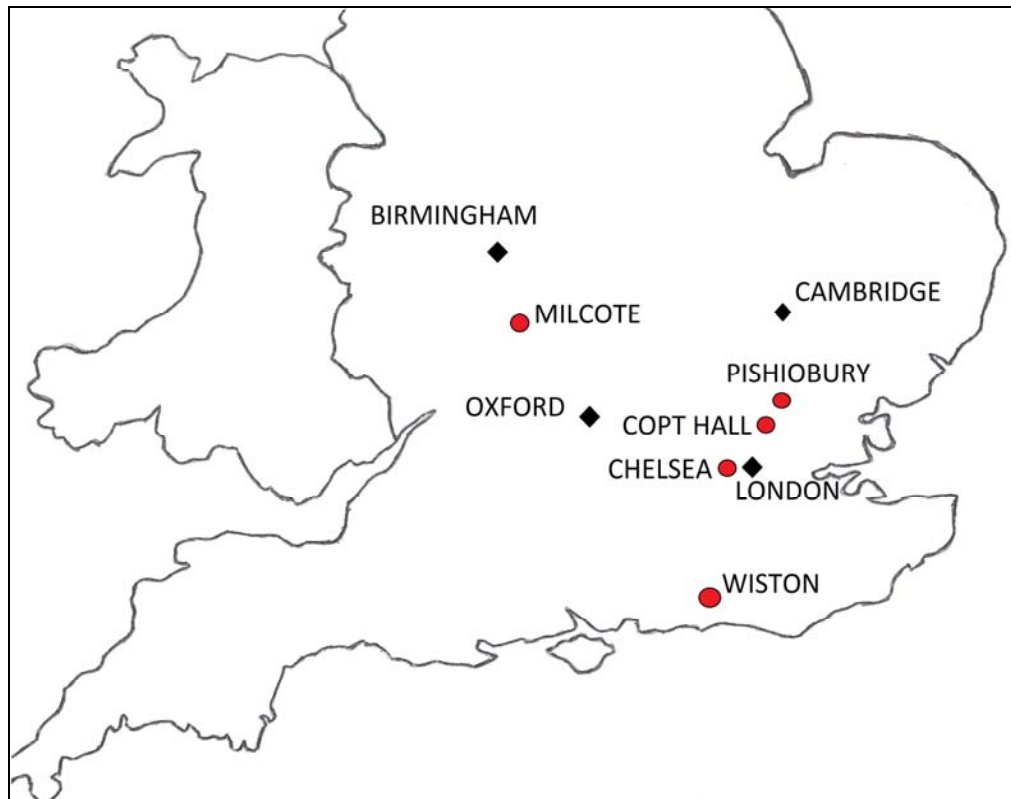
¹⁵ See Chapter 2, pp. 67-8

opportunity to assess whether a putative north-south divide influenced factors such as firstly, the aesthetics and the building processes involved in creating a home and setting it within appropriate grounds, and secondly the way the household was run and how deeply it was imbedded within the local community. The almshouse Ingram constructed in the Bootham area of York is also analysed in this study as it presents the opportunity to examine the use of public buildings to project his own image, (Map 4).

Map 2: Ingram's country estates

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Map 3: Cranfield's country estates



Map 4: Ingram's York buildings

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Ingram and Cranfield's London residences (Map 5) are also of importance in terms of their potential for self-projection and although they add little to the question of regionality as a factor in building, they tended to be the houses from which both men ran their building programmes, due to the amount of time they spent in the metropolis on business. So despite their houses being located at different ends of the country both men largely orchestrated the construction of them from the same place, the capital, reflecting the importance of the distinction between the provinces and the metropolis. Just as in the country, both men had a significant number of properties in London, although a great many of them were for investment purposes. Ingram leased out properties in Fenchurch Street, the Postern Gate at the Tower of London, and Bromley St. Leonard's.¹⁶ Before he relocated to Yorkshire Ingram lived in the parish of Stratford-le-Bowe to the east of the City of London.¹⁷ Few documents concerning this house survive and it is therefore Ingram's house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, where he lived from 1619 until his death there in 1642, that is the main focus of discussion when considering Ingram's London residences.

When Cranfield married his first wife, Elizabeth Sheppard, in 1599, he was offered the lease of her father's house in Milk Street but he rejected this offer and decided to live with his new wife in his mother's house in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw.¹⁸ Whilst living here he had investments in tenements and houses in St. John Street, Clerkenwell, which he leased with his cousin Francis Wrote and his elder brother Randal Cranfield.¹⁹

¹⁶ WYASL, WYL100/LO.

¹⁷ WYASL, WYL100/LO/Stratford-le-Bowe.

¹⁸ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 26, 28.

¹⁹ In June 1578 Cranfield's grandmother, Elizabeth Randall, his mother and father, Thomas and Martha, and his aunt and uncle, Robert Wrote and Katherine Wrote, leased houses in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell, and these were presumably the same properties which Cranfield, his brother, and his cousin continued to lease out, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 7; p. 54, 10 January

During this time Cranfield also secured the lease of a property called ‘The Vernacle’ which was situated on Bartholomew Lane near the Royal Exchange. In the late-sixteenth century his master and father-in-law, Richard Sheppard, appears to have been resident in the house, and on 29 November 1601 he signed the tenement over to Cranfield for £400.²⁰ Cranfield’s main London residences were in Wood Street from 1604 until 1621, and then in nearby St. Bartholomew’s from 1630 until his death in 1645. In between this he had his finest residence at Chelsea, which although close to London was more akin to a country estate, and will be considered as such throughout this study. Chelsea provided Cranfield with the advantage of close proximity to the court with none of the restrictions on space that urban buildings suffered.²¹

Map 5: Ingram and Cranfield’s houses in the City of London and Westminster

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1603; p. 116, 10 April 1605; p. 136, 14 July 1607; p. 260, 4 April 1612; p. 338, 20 January 1608.

²⁰ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 45, 9.

²¹ See Chapter 3, pp. 146-7 for the problems Ingram encountered during his building works at his urban home in Dean’s Yard, Westminster.

Chapter 2 looks in detail at Ingram and Cranfield's careers, focusing in particular on the relationships which fostered their social mobility, such as the patronage they secured, but a brief account of Ingram and Cranfield's lives is necessary at this point. Born in the 1570s in London to merchant fathers, Ingram and Cranfield had a similar start to life.²² The similarities continued throughout their lifetimes, as both men took part in the buying and selling of customs farms, entered court through their knowledge of commerce and trade, were knighted in 1613, and both fell from favour at court in a dramatic fashion. Of course there were some differences, such as Cranfield's titles and positions of high office which Ingram never achieved, but the overall consistencies in their careers and their strong connection with each other makes them ideal subjects for this study of social mobility and self-fashioning.²³

Their early mercantile years were characterised by pecuniary gain and ambitious drive. Ingram had taken over his father's business as a tallow chandler by 1600 and by 1603 had become a controller of the port of London, a position that was granted to him for life in 1607.²⁴ Cranfield began his working life as an apprentice to Richard Sheppard assisting him in the export of cloth, selling kerseys and broadcloths at Stade in Germany

²² Cranfield was born in 1575, Prestwich, p. 49. No records have been found that can firmly establish Ingram's birth date. Upton gives no indication of Ingram's year of birth whereas Simon Healy believes it was before 1571 but does not give his reasons, see Simon Healy, "Ingram, Sir Arthur (*b.* before 1571, *d.* 1642)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-), Accessed 28/01/2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14414>. An 'Aurthur Ingram' was christened on 9 September 1571 at the Church of St. Katherine Colman, and although the child's parents are not named this could be the Arthur Ingram of this study, London Guildhall, St Katherine Coleman, Composite Register: baptisms and burials 1559-1666, marriages 1563-1666, P69/KAT1/A/01/Ms 17832/1-2. The church of St. Katherine Colman was situated on Fenchurch Street, where Ingram lived in 1611, see Upton, p. 38.

²³ Although there were rumours in early 1622 that Ingram was going to be made a baron, he never acquired a greater title than that of knight, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 404, 30 March 1622, p. 429.

²⁴ Upton, pp. 1-2.

and Middleburg in the Netherlands.²⁵ By 1597 he was a freeman of the Mercers' Company and sometime before 1602 became a Merchant Adventurer.²⁶ Both men traded during a prosperous period, after the fall of Antwerp and before the beginning of the thirty years war, when Europe was relatively at peace and great profits could be made.²⁷ It was due to this good timing that they accumulated enough wealth to further their ambitions and advance their fortunes and social stature.

The men not only dealt separately within their specified trades they also engaged in many projects together which made their fortunes, such as the export of iron ordnance, the farming of the Irish customs, the farming of dye-woods, the farming of tobacco, securing a monopoly on domestic starch production from bran instead of wheat, the purchase and sale of crown lands and leasing the right to sell wine licences.²⁸ Through these projects, and the money-lending capacities these projects provided, they became known to various courtiers, most significantly Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and George Villiers,

²⁵ For Cranfield's trading in the European cloth market see *Cranfield Papers II*.

²⁶ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 23, 49.

²⁷ Tawney, p. 13; The effects of the destruction of the central trading post of Antwerp, which suffered ruin due to the Spanish invasion of the Netherlands in the 1570s, were becoming less potent at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Many European states were suffering financially and consequently trade began to blossom again.

²⁸ For the exporting of iron ordnance see *Various VIII*, pp. 2-3, 6, 8, 21, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 64-7, Upton, pp. 12-14, Prestwich, p. 59; for the Irish customs see *Various VIII*, pp. 31-33, 35-50, 52, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 257-9, Upton, pp. 14-15, 85-88, 219-221, Prestwich, pp. 126-8; for dye-woods see *Various VIII*, p. 5, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 146-150, Upton, pp. 16-18, Prestwich, pp. 67-9; for the starch business see *Various VIII*, pp. 4-5, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 154-158, Upton, pp. 18-20, Prestwich, pp. 69-70, Tawney, pp. 102-4; for tobacco see *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 173-4, Upton, pp. 20-21, Prestwich, p. 67; for speculation in rectories and chantry lands see *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 144-145; for other crown lands see *Various VIII*, pp. 6-9, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 181-190, 223-5, 231, 316, Upton, pp. 21-27, 39-45, Prestwich, pp. 78-9; for the wine business see *Various VIII*, pp. 4, 7, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 75-100, 151, Upton, pp. 54-5, Prestwich, pp. 62-3. The men also bought shares in the great farm of the customs, the silk farm, and the currant farm, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 173, Upton, pp. 7-8, Prestwich, p. 60.

Duke of Buckingham.²⁹ It is not known precisely when Ingram and Cranfield first became associated with Cecil, but as early as 1602 Cecil is recorded as aiding Ingram and Cranfield's first business venture together, which is discussed in Chapter 2. Ingram and Cranfield first came into contact with Suffolk in 1604 in the farming of the currant duties and four years later became associated with his uncle, Northampton, when he sublet his lease of the starch farm to them.³⁰ Although Villiers was to become Cranfield's patron it was Ingram who aided the favourite's ascendancy, giving Sir James Graham, a gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber and promoter of Villiers, £100.³¹ The patronage of these eminent statesmen secured Ingram's and Cranfield's advancement at court and the means of election to Parliament.

Ingram's career at court was very short-lived after his establishment in the post of Cofferer of the King's Household in 1615. He served less than a year due to his subordinates' outrage at the instalment of such a 'scandalous fellow'.³² Ingram then re-established himself in Yorkshire where he served as a member of the Council of the North and as sheriff of the county, took control of the alum industry until 1625, and built up a significant landed estate.³³ He sat for York in the Parliaments of 1624, 1625, 1626 and 1628, one way in which he retained his links with London.³⁴ After losing the patronage of his Yorkshire associate Sir Thomas Wentworth, future Earl of Strafford, he secured the support of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland.

²⁹ Cranfield first started lending money to courtiers in 1604, lending £750 to Sir Richard Preston, who in 1619 became the Earl of Desmond, see *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 67-8, whereas courtiers relied on Ingram and his negotiating skills to lend them money, but most importantly to get the money quickly, as Suffolk's letter to Sir Julius Caesar reveals, 'I conceive it the readiest way to get present money', cited in Upton, p. 40.

³⁰ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 154-8, Upton, pp. 7-8, 20, Prestwich, pp. 69-70.

³¹ Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981), p. 17.

³² *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 224, 2 March 1615, p. 585. See Chapter 2, pp. 57-9.

³³ For the alum industry see Upton, pp. 27-30, 107-147.

³⁴ Upton, p. 155.

Cranfield had a much longer and influential career at court before he was impeached for bribery and corruption in 1624, fined £50,000 (which after much pleading was reduced to £20,000), imprisoned in the Tower and never allowed to hold office again.³⁵ Cranfield successively acquired the posts of Master of Requests (1617), Master of the Wardrobe (1618) and Master of the Court of Wards (1619), culminating in his role as Lord Treasurer to James I between 1621 and 1624. The rapid acquisition of these official posts and his great aptitude for the roles resulted in him being created Baron Cranfield in 1621, and a year later becoming the Earl of Middlesex.³⁶ After his impeachment in the spring of 1624, which was largely due to court factions and his refusal to support Buckingham's rally for war with Spain, Cranfield retired to Copt Hall.³⁷ His financial gains during his time as a merchant and when in office protected him from bankruptcy after his fall, but due to the large fine he incurred he had to part with his beloved house at Chelsea. He also faced further financial difficulties in 1635 when he had to pay almost £12,000 to the Exchequer after his accounts for the Wardrobe were re-investigated.³⁸ Despite this Cranfield built up a large fortune and estate, worth roughly £76,500, when he died in 1645.³⁹ Ingram had died three years earlier, leaving a landed estate of just over £9,000 a year, but his name was to live on

³⁵ Prestwich, p. 455, for a detailed description of the impeachment see Robert E. Ruigh, *The Parliament of 1624: Politics and Foreign Policy*, Harvard Historical Studies 87 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 304-342. Immediately after Cranfield's release from the Tower there was a rumour that he was to be sworn a gentleman of the bedchamber but this came to nothing and Cranfield never held office again, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 452, 5 June 1624, p. 562.

³⁶ Cranfield was created Baron Cranfield in July 1621, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 386, 14 July 1621, p. 387; on 16 September 1622 Cranfield was created first Earl of Middlesex, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 413, 25 September 1622, p. 452.

³⁷ Although Cranfield was not charged until May 1624 'complaints and petitions' were already being levied against him as early as January 1623 according to Chamberlain, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 421, 4 January 1623, p. 471.

³⁸ See Prestwich, pp. 497-507.

³⁹ Prestwich, p. 587.

much longer than Cranfield's.⁴⁰ The male line of the Cranfield family died out in 1674 but the Ingram name survived for generations, as well as receiving the honour of being created Viscount Irwin in 1661.⁴¹

1.1 Social mobility and self-fashioning

Ingram and Cranfield had sought to improve their social status at an opportune time. James I marked his accession to the English throne with the creation of a vast number of knights, countering Elizabeth's reluctance to bestow such honours. Indeed, the quantity of knights created was 'innumerable' according to Lady Anne Clifford, who also noted 'a great change between the fashion of the Court as it is now and that in the Queen's time'.⁴² Already by the end of 1604 the number of knights had risen three-fold and James' proclamation requiring men worth £40 per annum to come and receive their honour 'opened the floodgates.'⁴³ James' re-introduction of distraint of knighthood, keeping the financial marker of £40 which had been used in the late middle ages when the sum equated to a much greater amount, reveals that James was prepared to de-value the honour so that he could raise more funds. This highlights the fact that in the seventeenth century gentility did not always go hand in hand with wealth, as Mingay notes that men such as 'a barber, a former innkeeper and an ex-convict' were among those who answered James' proclamation.⁴⁴ The price put on titles fell throughout the reigns of James and Charles, with the cost of a baronetcy, for example, falling from

⁴⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/5.

⁴¹ Prestwich, pp. 589-90; WYASL, WYL100/F1/3. It was Henry Ingram, Sir Arthur's grandson, who was created first Viscount Irwin of Scotland on 26 June 1661.

⁴² Anne Clifford, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud: Sutton, 1990), p. 22.

⁴³ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 75.

⁴⁴ G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (London: Longman, 1976), p. 5.

£700 in 1619 to £220 in 1622.⁴⁵ This signified not only a loss in economic value but also social value. As titles became more widely available and less exclusive they consequently lost something of their prestige. Ingram and Cranfield, both knighted in 1613, found it hard to gain the respect and support of the established peerage and this was due not only to the fact they were created in an age when many dubious personages received titles, but also because they increased their own wealth through the much-condemned process. In 1606 Cranfield noted in his ledger that he owed Ingram £373 1^s 8^d for ‘the suit of making 6 knights’.⁴⁶ The inflation of honours not only directly influenced social mobility, it also indirectly affected it through processes such as marriage negotiations and property settlements.⁴⁷ A clear example of this was Cranfield’s purchase of Copt Hall in 1623, an opportunity which materialised due to the fact that the previous owner Lady Elizabeth Finch actively sought out a title for herself. Lady Finch agreed to give the Duke and Duchess of Richmond and Lennox Copt Hall in exchange for being created Viscountess Maidstone. The Lennoxes then promptly sold the house, which they had never really desired, to Cranfield.⁴⁸

Who deserved the honour of a title was an issue of great concern in the early modern period, as was gentility and how a gentleman was defined. Writers of the time often consulted ancient philosophers on such issues and Francis Markham, in his *Booke of Honour* (1625), relayed Aristotle’s belief that honour consisted of four parts; wealth, stock, virtue and learning.⁴⁹ The ‘crisis of the aristocracy’, as Stone termed it, was a result of wealth overruling all other factors to the extent that men of humble origins

⁴⁵ Mingay, *The Gentry*, p. 5.

⁴⁶ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 123; Upton, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 102.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 3, pp. 167-9, for a more detailed discussion of this transaction.

⁴⁹ Francis Markham, *The booke of honour, or, fiue decades of epistles of honour*, (1625), p. 42.

could secure titles and improve their social standing.⁵⁰ The established peerage and gentry were eager to keep alive the traditionalist view that ancient lineage and noble birth were the primary markers of gentility, which conflicted with the emerging view that gentility was not only defined by birth, or in fact wealth, but by gentlemanly qualities, such as virtue, piety, and learning.⁵¹ Many tracts and advice books on the notion of gentility were printed in the period, which shows how topical the subject was. Some, like Sir John Ferne's *The Blazon of the Gentry*, emphasized the traditional view that lineage was the key to gentility, whilst others, such as *The English Gentleman* by Richard Brathwaite, believed virtue was the integral part of the gentleman.⁵²

According to Richard Cust both these views are 'idealistic approaches', which he contrasts with a more 'practical approach'.⁵³ The practical approach to gentility was simply that a man could be called a gentleman if his neighbours addressed him as such and if he could live without working with his hands; as Thomas Smith commented, 'who can live idly and without manuell labour, and will beare the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman, he shall ... be taken for a gentleman'.⁵⁴ Wealth was obviously a key aspect in this practical approach to gentility, because if a man could afford not to work the land himself he could become a gentleman out of his revenue and purchases. Many of the new gentlemen were 'successfully absorbed' into their elevated

⁵⁰ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*.

⁵¹ Many gentlemen went to great lengths to prove their ancient lineage, or 'create' a reputable ancestry, see Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 34-36.

⁵² Sir John Ferne, *The blazon of gentry deuided into two parts. The first named The glorie of generositie. The second, Lacyes nobilitie. Comprehending discourses of armes and of gentry. Wherein is treated of the beginning, parts, and degrees of gentlenesse, vvith her lawes: of the bearing, and blazon of cote-armors: of the lawes of armes, and of combats*, (1586); Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman*, (1630).

⁵³ Richard Cust, "The Duel in Early Modern England." Paper delivered at The Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon, on 1/03/06.

⁵⁴ Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, (1583), p. 27.

environs, adopting the practices and ideology of the new social group they had become part of.⁵⁵ Ingram and Cranfield support this consensus, investing in landed estates and seeking government positions after receiving their knighthoods, leaving their merchant activities behind. As landed gentlemen they could then jostle for positions of political influence such as a seat in the House of Commons.

Mervyn James concluded from his research on County Durham between 1500 and 1640 that the area underwent a change from a 'lineage' to a 'civil' society.⁵⁶ As Stone's work concerning the inflation of honours confirms, the social hierarchy was beginning to be less dependent on the concept of lineage as status could now be bought as well as inherited. James' findings, therefore, clearly have a wider relevance and represent a change that was almost certainly happening, to some extent, throughout England. 'Civility' is a term that can be linked with the emerging humanist ideology that began circulating in England in the early sixteenth century. To be 'civil' one did not necessarily need to be from ancient noble lineage; it was a property that could be attained through study and conveyed through good manners. Nicholas Cooper links this change from a lineage to a civil society to architecture by stating that honour was increasingly being linked to service to the state rather than military prowess and therefore the chivalric castle was being replaced by country houses which could express their owners' learning.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 39.

⁵⁶ Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

⁵⁷ Nicholas Cooper, "Rank, Manners and Display: The Gentlemanly House, 1500-1750," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 291-310, (pp. 293-4).

Humanism encouraged focus on the self, and this meant that the individual could actively seek out advancement rather than relying on his background as a signifier of his status or as a means to achieve greater heights. Ben Jonson, in his play *Every Man Out of his Humour* (1600), highlighted the evolving nature of society and what was required of a man seeking status. In act one scene two Carlo relates to Sogliardo that ‘to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, ... ’twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel.’⁵⁸ An ‘accomplished gentleman’ then, according to Carlo, was concerned with himself and his own image, rather than his surroundings and community. His land would provide stability and labour for local workers, but his attire would only benefit himself. This prioritising of the self had consequences for provincial society, most notably in the decline of hospitality, an issue which is discussed in Chapter 6. As more emphasis was placed on the individual the manipulation of identity to achieve greater status became more crucial.

Stephen Greenblatt’s seminal study on self-fashioning, part of the wave of New Historicism in the 1980s, remains the touchstone for studies on the projection of identity and image in the early modern period.⁵⁹ Greenblatt acknowledges that the act of self-fashioning was not a new concept in early modern England, but believes that ‘there is in the early modern period a change in the intellectual, social, psychological, and aesthetic structures that govern the generation of identities.’⁶⁰ Again, this relates to the emergence of humanist ideology which prioritised learning and virtue. However, it is clear that

⁵⁸ Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of his Humour* (1600), ed. Helen Ostovich, *The Revels Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 139, Act 1 Scene 2, Lines 41-6.

⁵⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

⁶⁰ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, p. 1.

social mobility and the manipulation of the self to achieve higher status was present in England long before the influence of humanism was felt. Despite this, Greenblatt's influential study draws attention to the fact that self-fashioning, although not unique to Tudor and Stuart England, was a very visceral experience for contemporaries. This thesis confirms this in the evaluation of Ingram's and Cranfield's struggle to maintain their newly-elevated positions.

Gentleman of the early seventeenth century often encountered a lack of autonomy when attempting to fashion themselves, with institutions influencing their actions.⁶¹ The Court was one such institution and many writers advised on how to fashion oneself as a 'Courtier', a figure that was defined by the environment he inhabited. Baldassare Castiglione's treatise is perhaps the most well-known on the subject and was translated into English by Thomas Hoby in 1561, its popularity apparent by the many reprints it enjoyed.⁶² Francis Bacon noted the lack of autonomy a man had in achieving 'great place', when he remarked '[i]t is a strange desire, to seek power and to lose liberty: or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self.'⁶³ Securing high office in the period would give a man power over many but he could not choose his 'self', it must be subject to the position he attained, and thus his self-image represented what was expected of a man in his situation. The fact Cranfield was impeached suggests that he had failed to create an identity which was suitable to his public office.⁶⁴

⁶¹ See Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, p. 1, for further discussion on the significance of autonomy.

⁶² Anna Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status: Gesture, Demeanour and the Image of the Gentleman in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England," in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540-1660*, eds. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion, 1990): 136-153, (p. 137).

⁶³ Francis Bacon, *Of Great Place*, (1625), in *Francis Bacon, The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 359-361, (p. 359).

⁶⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 65-8, for Cranfield's impeachment.

Castiglione realised that the process of self-fashioning was continuous and that one must adapt to different situations and different people; '[a]nd knowing the difference of one man & an other, euery day alter facion and maner accordyng to the disposition of them he is conuersant withall.'⁶⁵ This was particularly pertinent for Ingram and Cranfield who moved between the city and the court and needed to present themselves to people of extremely different worlds. Anna Bryson comments that early modern courtesy manuals 'seem to present manners as a currency of social "credit" or "debt"', explaining that bad manners could ostracize one from eminent people whereas good manners could help one to achieve greater things.⁶⁶ This language of economic negotiation, trading with manners, would sit well with rising merchants such as Ingram and Cranfield. They clearly adapted their selves to the different environments they inhabited with great skill to rise so high. Their subsequent expulsions from court, however, suggest they could only masquerade as noble men for as long as the virtuous image they sought to project carried authenticity.

The use of architecture as a tool in the act of self-fashioning has been discussed by many architectural historians, most notably Maurice Howard and Paul Hunneyball.⁶⁷ Matthew Johnson has also studied the extent to which elite homes were used by their owners as a way of projecting their image. He believes that 'identities are constructed around *the way buildings are viewed*, rather than simply changing architectural styles

⁶⁵ Baldassarre Castiglione, *The courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio diuided into foure bookes. Very necessary and profitable for yonge gentilmen and gentilwomen abiding in court, palaice or place, done into English by Thomas Hoby*, (1561).

⁶⁶ Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 124.

⁶⁷ Maurice Howard, "Self-Fashioning and the Classical Moment in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Architecture," in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540-1660*, eds. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion, 1990): 198-217; Paul M. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

(Perpendicular, Renaissance).'⁶⁸ This suggests that it was not solely the owner of a house who was responsible for the image it projected, but also the intended viewers (society) who interpreted the image that the owner wished to portray. Howard recognises this interactive process, commenting that, particularly in terms of classicism, the authority of a building 'depends upon the beholder of a building ... finding the style persuasive and having the ability to read its language.'⁶⁹ The architectural style of classicism was not widespread in early seventeenth-century England, and Howard notes the term 'classical' itself would not have been understood by contemporaries, they would instead have referred to the style as 'antique' or 'Roman'.⁷⁰ Johnson, too, notes that there is a danger of inflicting present concepts when analysing the past, and admits '[t]he more I think about who sixteenth-century people thought they were, the more alien their identities seem to me.'⁷¹ So not only must we evaluate how certain builders, such as Ingram and Cranfield, wished to project their image through architecture and how the recipients interpreted this portrayal of the self, but we must also be cautious not to apply modern concepts to an analysis of the past. This is particularly difficult when looking at self-fashioning as it is a rather modish perspective which all flows from Greenblatt. Although the increased interest in self-fashioning reflects current preoccupations in the present it is also a real historical phenomenon that merits analysis, as is exemplified by Ingram's and Cranfield's attempts to infiltrate the world of the courtier.

⁶⁸ Matthew Johnson, "Reconstructing Castles and Refashioning Identities in Renaissance England," in *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of later historical Britain*, eds. Sarah Tarlow and Susie West, (London: Routledge, 1999): 69-86, (p. 70).

⁶⁹ Maurice Howard, "Classicism and Civic Architecture in Renaissance England," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent, Studies in British Art 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 29-49, (p. 29).

⁷⁰ Howard, "Classicism and Civic Architecture in Renaissance England," p. 31.

⁷¹ Johnson, "Reconstructing Castles and Refashioning Identities in Renaissance England," pp. 69-70, 84.

1.2 Historiography

Ingram and Cranfield have both received the attention of biographers but neither of the men's self-fashioning has been examined in connection with the estates they built up, with Upton, Tawney, and Prestwich all focussing on charting Ingram's and Cranfield's commercial and political careers. Although Prestwich, and Upton to a degree, do not restrict their research solely to the men's careers, including information about their social lives and families, they do not analyse the men's houses in detail or set them in an architectural context. Most importantly, a comparison of the personal estates of the two men has never been carried out. This study highlights the strong reliance the men had on each other in furthering their careers and becoming wealthy, which in turn affected their building programmes, both economically and stylistically. Their building plans were influenced by the courtiers they became connected to in their newly-established positions.

All the biographies are somewhat dated, and the discovery of new material in the archives along with a desire to place an analysis of Ingram's and Cranfield's lives within the field of 'new cultural history', which came to the fore slightly after these biographies were completed, merits a re-evaluation of Ingram's and Cranfield's social ascendance. 'New cultural history' is a term used to describe the resurgence of the approach in the 1970s, for cultural history had been around for some time, first established in the nineteenth century, the so-called 'father' of the movement being Jacob Burckhardt.⁷² The approach taken by the art historian Frederick Antal, reading culture as a reflection of society, is adopted in this study, with the lives of Ingram and

⁷² Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004), p. 8.

Cranfield reflecting the early modern phenomenon of social mobility.⁷³ ‘Culture’ as a term is hard to define, as T. S. Eliot highlights by suggesting that English culture can include anything from ‘Derby Day ... the dart board ... boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar’ to ‘nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar.’⁷⁴ The definition provided by Edward Tylor in his 1871 text *Primitive Culture*, that culture is ‘that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society,’ will be applied in this study.⁷⁵ Tylor recognised that the study of culture is effectively ‘the study of laws of human thought and action.’⁷⁶ The way Ingram and Cranfield presented themselves to society and the actions they took in improving their image, such as the building programmes they embarked on, are key concerns of this thesis. Although the men’s actions can be analysed, their thought processes can only be inferred; therefore it is their behaviour which provides the main area of analysis for this study.

Nigel Wright, in his study of the gentry and their houses in early modern Norfolk and Suffolk, identified a long established trend in the study of gentlemen and their estates, ‘[b]roadly speaking historians have studied the gentry; art historians and architects have studied the houses; and art historians, students of literature and even horticulturists have dealt with the garden.’⁷⁷ Wright rectifies this by taking an integrated approach and since the 1990s much more emphasis has been placed on interdisciplinary study. This thesis

⁷³ Frederick Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background: The Bourgeois Republic Before Cosimo De’ Medici’s Advent to Power, XIV and Early XV Centuries*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 136-8; Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 16;

⁷⁴ T. S. Eliot, *Note Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954), p. 31.

⁷⁵ Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*, 4th ed. (London: John Murray, 1903), 1, p. 1; Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, p. 29.

⁷⁶ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Nigel Wright, “The Gentry and their houses in Norfolk and Suffolk from circa 1550-1850,” (Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of East Anglia, 1990), p. 2.

employs a holistic approach which not only integrates cultural, architectural, and art history to analyse the figures and estates of Ingram and Cranfield, but also deals with the economic concerns of house building which have also tended to be studied in isolation in the past.

Although the houses and gardens of many courtiers of the early Stuart period have received intense attention from architectural historians, the estates of Cranfield and Ingram are relatively unknown.⁷⁸ Cranfield's residences have received slightly more attention than Ingram's, probably due to the fact Cranfield attained greater significance at court than Ingram and commissioned the star of English seventeenth-century architecture, Inigo Jones. However, there is also the possibility that Cranfield's properties are better known because they lie in the southern half of England. Nearly all the printed material on Ingram's building programme has been published in northern journals.⁷⁹ Only New Lodge at Sheriff Hutton has received slightly more widespread

⁷⁸ Robert Cecil's building programme has been widely researched, the most noteworthy studies being Claire Gapper, John Newman and Annabel Ricketts, "Hatfield: A House for a Lord Treasurer," in *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils 1558-1612*, ed. Pauline Croft, Studies in British Art 8 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002): 67-95, and Lawrence Stone, *Family & Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 63-91. For other studies of gentry houses see Caroline Stanley-Millson and John Newman, "Blickling Hall: The building of a Jacobean mansion," *Architectural History* 29 (1986): 1-42; Linda Campbell, "Documentary evidence for the building of Raynham Hall," *Architectural History* 32 (1989): 52-67; Oliver Fairclough, "John Thorpe and Aston Hall," *Architectural History* 32 (1989): 30-51.

⁷⁹ R. M. Butler, "York Palace, a vanished Jacobean mansion," *York Historian* 8 (1988): 25-45; J. Egerton, "Sheriff Hutton Park," *York Georgian Society Occasional Papers* 2 (1946): 5-13; Christopher Gilbert, "Ingram's Palace, York," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 71 (1972): 26-30; Gilbert, "Ingram's Almshouse, York," *York Historian* 1 (1976): 31-35; Gilbert, "Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's Reconstruction of Temple Newsam," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 51 (1963): 6-12; Gilbert, "New Park, Huby – An Early 17th Century Hunting Lodge," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 45 (1973): 185-188; Gilbert, "The Park and Gardens at Temple Newsam," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 53 (1964): 4-9; D. G. Wild and C. G. Gilbert, "Excavation of Garden Banqueting House," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 60 (1967): 4-7; Alexander Robertson, "The Jacobean Chapel at Temple Newsam," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 76 (1975): 21-23; Anthony Wells-Cole, "The Dining Room at Temple Newsam," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 110 (1992): 16-24; Wells-Cole, "The Great Hall at Temple Newsam," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 106 (1990): 3-16; Wells-Cole "Some Bedrooms and

attention.⁸⁰ However, the handful of studies on the houses Cranfield once occupied appear in national journals or books.⁸¹ This is significant in itself, implying that Ingram's Yorkshire properties are only considered of interest to regional historians, whereas Cranfield's southern properties merit attention from architectural historians who deem them of national significance. There is, arguably, more of a disparity between the north and south today than there was in the early seventeenth century.

Various architectural studies have dismissed the north as 'backward', or even ignored the region altogether. W. G. Hoskins, writing in the 1960s, claimed England underwent a 'Great Rebuilding' between 1570 and 1640.⁸² Since Hoskins' thought-provoking study many historians have found severe limitations within it. Green, in particular, has criticised Hoskins' neglect of the northern counties of England in his sample.⁸³ Forster makes the bold claim that 'there is no evidence that York experienced the "great rebuilding" of the period.'⁸⁴ Pevsner also believes that there was a lack of architectural activity in North Yorkshire before 1600 and even after that 'one cannot expect a

Dressing Rooms at Temple Newsam," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 112 (1993): 7-28; Wells-Cole, "The Terrace Room at Temple Newsam," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 108 (1991): 13-23.

⁸⁰ Christopher Gilbert, "Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire – I," *Country Life* (8 Sept 1966): 548-551; Gilbert, "Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire – II," *Country Life* (15 Sept 1966): 628-631. See also Ed Dennison, ed., *Within the Pale: The Story of Sheriff Hutton Park*, Sheriff Hutton Women's Institute Community Pale Project (York: William Sessions, 2005), esp. Chapter 15.

⁸¹ Walter H. Godfrey, "New Light on Old Subjects II – Sir Thomas More's House at Chelsea," *Architectural Review* 29 (March 1911): 131-135; Godfrey, "New Light on Old Subjects IV – Beaufort House, Chelsea, and its Neighbours," *Architectural Review* 29 (May 1911): 270-275; Godfrey, "The site of Beaufort House," in *Survey of London 4: The Parish of Chelsea*, Part 2, ed. Walter H. Godfrey, (London: London County Council, 1913): 18-27; Randall Davies, *The Greatest House at Chelsea* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1914); John Newman, "Cophthall, Essex," in *The Country Seat: studies in the History of the British Country House, Presented to John Summerson*, eds. Howard Colvin and John Harris (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1970): 18-29; Roger White, "Wiston House Remodelled," *Architectural History* 27 (1984): 241-254.

⁸² W.G. Hoskins, *Provincial England: Essays in Social and Economic History* (London: Macmillan, 1964), p. 131.

⁸³ Adrian Green, "Seventeenth-Century Architecture in Teesdale and Weardale," *Past Times in Teesdale*, 7th Ser., (2007): 22-33, (p. 24).

⁸⁴ G. C. F. Forster, "York in the Seventeenth Century," in *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*, ed. P. M. Tillott, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London, 1961), p. 161.

Burghley or an Audley End or a Longleat'.⁸⁵ The north may have been a great distance from the capital and it may be the case that fashions in the south did not spread as far as, or as rapidly to, the north but rebuilding did happen and was not necessarily 'backward' in terms of style. Pevsner does admit that buildings within North Yorkshire can compete with the best houses in the country, but only after the end of the seventeenth century when the county reaches its 'climax' in architectural design with properties such as Castle Howard by John Vanbrugh.⁸⁶ Buildings such as Burton Agnes Hall in East Yorkshire, built between 1601 and 1610, and Fountains Hall in North Yorkshire, constructed around 1600, clearly challenge Pevsner's view, and have been noted by architectural historians such as Mark Girouard for their architectural merit.⁸⁷ This study further questions Pevsner's claims by analysing the building programme of Sir Arthur Ingram, understudied by architectural historians, to reveal that great houses were part of the northern landscape in the early, rather than late, seventeenth century.

1.3 The north-south divide and regionality

The time period upon which this study is focussed is of direct relevance to questions of regional division, and in particular how the north was defined. With James VI and I's accession to the English throne in 1603 the northern parts were no longer to be defined as peripheries but the centre of a united England and Scotland, in the words of Watts and Watts they went 'from border to middle shire'.⁸⁸ In 1607 James I labelled the border countries as the navel of the joined kingdoms, clearly highlighting their central

⁸⁵ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, The North Riding* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1966), p. 37.

⁸⁶ Pevsner, *North Yorkshire*, p. 42.

⁸⁷ Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (Yale University Press: London, 2009), p. 378.

⁸⁸ S. J. Watts with Susan J Watts, *From border to middle shire: Northumberland, 1586-1625* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975).

position in the new body politic.⁸⁹ In the far north of Northumberland the Union of the Crowns had a profound effect on many aspects of everyday living, and consequently architecture also evolved, from an emphasis on defensive structures to a concentration on aesthetics.⁹⁰ Perceptions, however, appear to have been more deeply ingrained than practices and proved more difficult to change. A letter written by Sir Timothy Whittingham between 1622 and 1625 to a prospective buyer of Fountains Hall in North Yorkshire, is a prime example, the building being described as ‘[a] very beawtyfull house newly built, the like whereof for bewty and good contrivinge is not in the North’.⁹¹ An awareness of the aesthetic importance of architecture is clearly present in the north which is surprising to the writer. This surprise at discovering the north could contain both beauty and civility highlights the pervading ideology that the north was somewhat behind the south in all aspects of society.

Many travel writers of the time, however, commended northern places. York, where Ingram spent most of his time when in the north, was lauded as the ‘second City of England, the fairest in all this Country [Yorkshire], and a singular safeguard and ornament both, to all the North parts’, by William Camden in the 1637 edition of *Britannia*.⁹² Indeed, York was the capital of the Northern Province with administrative authority over England north of the River Trent. From 1613 onwards Ingram was part of the resident bureaucracy due to his position as secretary to the Council of the North, and

⁸⁹ Watts and Watts, *From border to middle shire*, p. 133.

⁹⁰ Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880*, abridged edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 37.

⁹¹ BL, Harleian MSS 6853, fol. 450.

⁹² William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England: vvritten first in Latine by William Camden Clarenceux K. of A. Translated newly into English by Philémon Holland Doctour in Physick: finally, revised, amended, and enlarged with sundry additions by the said author*, (1637), p. 701

by 1614 a member of the Council itself. Camden declared that York was ‘a pleasant place, large, and stately, well fortified, beautifully adorned as well with private as publique buildings, rich [and] populous’, implying that York was not only significant in terms of its authority over the northern parts but that it was also well built and culturally rich.⁹³ In his account of his visit to the city in 1634, Lieutenant Hammond, of the Norwich militia, witnessed a service at the Minster which was attended by all the eminent personages of the city and Hammond beheld it such a spectacle that it ‘did represent a second London.’⁹⁴ Helen M Jewell in her seminal work *The North-South Divide* draws attention to the fact that even though these southern observers praised northern places they were ‘pleasantly surprised when they found a place reminding them of London ... [and] rather more astonished when they found social gatherings of a more cultural kind, for example at the northern spas.’⁹⁵ Ingram himself partook of cultured activities such as utilizing the northern spas that were situated near to his friend’s house in Scriven, ‘a house of Sir Henry Slingsbyes nere Knaresbarrow (where Sir Arthur Ingram lyes for the sparre waters).’⁹⁶

There was certainly an awareness of regional difference at the time, which is clearly shown in a letter to Cranfield from Richard Masonly about the selling of Copt Hall whereby he describes the prospective buyer as ‘Lorde Gray of ye north’, therefore identifying him through his place of habitation.⁹⁷ It is noteworthy that it is the region rather than the county which Lord Gray lived in which is emphasised. During the 1970s

⁹³ Camden, *Britain*, p. 701.

⁹⁴ David and Mary Palliser, *York as they saw it – from Alcuin to Lord Esher* (York: Ebor Press, 1979), p. 15.

⁹⁵ Helen M. Jewell, *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 146.

⁹⁶ *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, ed., J. P. Cooper, Royal Historical Society, *Camden* 4th Ser., 12 (1973), p. 265, letter from Christopher Wandesford to Thomas Wentworth in September 1627.

⁹⁷ CKS, U269/1 CP70, c. 1630.

historians began to place great emphasis on the ‘county community’ of the seventeenth century but since the 1980s the importance of the county in the lives of early modern people has been questioned.⁹⁸ It is clear the county boundaries of Yorkshire were far from unsurpassable.⁹⁹ York, as the northern province for the church, had strong ecclesiastical ties to other dioceses in the region, particularly Durham, and as the headquarters for the Council of the North, it had political administration across the region.¹⁰⁰

However, the term ‘region’ itself is problematic, any definition of the word being ‘slippery’, according to Green and Pollard.¹⁰¹ Newton supports this, commenting that the term region ‘is still some way from a definitive resolution, if it ever could, or should, be immutably resolved.’¹⁰² Regional boundaries are also debatable. Phythian-Adams believes river basins provide the main divisions between regions as they ‘serve to divide valley-based peoples’, but Pollard questions this notion, believing the River Tees, in particular, could ‘have been at some times in different aspects both a border and a heartland at the same time.’¹⁰³ He supports this belief by claiming that regions and boundaries ‘vary according to the economic relationships, social connections or political

⁹⁸ Anthony Gross, “Regionalism and Revision,” in *Regionalism and Revision: the Crown and its Provinces in England, 1200-1650*, eds. Peter Fleming, Anthony Gross and Jack Robert Lander (London: Hambledon Press, 1998): 1-13, (pp. 1-2).

⁹⁹ Many members of the Yorkshire gentry had houses in other counties, see J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry From the Reformation to the Civil War*, University of London Historical Studies 25 (London: Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 29-31, and many exogenous marriages took place between the elite of Yorkshire and Durham, see Diana Newton, *North-East England, 1569-1625: Governance, Culture and Identity*, Regions and Regionalism in History (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ See Barry Till, “York against Durham: The Guardianship of the Spiritualities in the Diocese of Durham *Sede Vacante*,” *Borthwick Papers* 84 (1993); A. J. Pollard, “All Maks and Manders: The Local History of the Tees Valley in the Later Middle Ages (1),” *Cleveland History* 65 (Spring 1994): 12-28, (pp. 23-4).

¹⁰¹ Adrian Green and A. J. Pollard, eds., *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300-2000*, Regions and Regionalism in History (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 4.

¹⁰² Newton, *North-East England*, p. 4.

¹⁰³ Charles Phythian-Adams, “Local History and National History: The Quest for the Peoples of England,” *Rural History* 2:1 (April 1991): 1-23, (pp. 7-8); Pollard, “All Maks and Manders,” p. 26.

associations involved.’¹⁰⁴ Ingram and Cranfield were certainly not restricted by geographical boundaries, having business links in many counties, estates in various regions, as well as family ties (mainly through marriage) in different areas of the country. Both Ingram and Cranfield were born in London, however, and consequently had no deep-rooted ancestral ties to a particular region or county, being part of the peripatetic elite. They therefore had no strong sense of regional culture and may never have lost their central perception, viewing the north and south in terms of administrative provinces due to their official positions.

Where the divide lies between the north and south of England is debatable, but in order to analyse whether there is in fact a north-south divide in cultural, political and economical terms it is necessary to try and establish a geographical division between the two halves of England. Jewell uses the River Trent as the boundary between north and south, just as contemporaries did, as this fits with the fact that the area of authority assigned to the Council of the North was between the Scottish border and the River Trent. She notes that this expanse of land has, in fact, three ‘norths’, a far north which includes the counties of Northumberland, Durham, Westmorland and Cumberland, a middle north which is formed by the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and finally a near north containing Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire.¹⁰⁵ It is the ‘middle north’ which is of most concern to this study as it includes Yorkshire, the county that Ingram re-located to, but houses in the ‘near north’ such as Hardwick in Derbyshire are considered as northern in this study, therefore the dividing line will be the River Trent, as in Jewell’s study and as used by contemporaries.

¹⁰⁴ Pollard, “All Maks and Manders,” p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ Jewell, *The North-South Divide*, p. 24.

1.4 Methodology

The Cranfield Papers, part of the Sackville Manuscripts at The Centre for Kentish Studies in Maidstone, together with the copious archive of material in the Temple Newsam Collection held by West Yorkshire Archive Service in Leeds, are vast. Accordingly, this thesis concentrates on documentary evidence which relates to the estates of the two gentlemen and takes information about their political careers from their biographies. In addition to the family papers of the two men, official documents such as royal and parliamentary surveys carried out on some of the estates analysed have also been utilised. Two household books preserved in Lambeth Palace Library concerning Cranfield's house at Chelsea have proved invaluable in the examination of household practices and ceremonies, as discussed in Chapter 6, and have previously been relatively understudied.¹⁰⁶ This documentary evidence has been supported by visual sources, mainly of a later date, which illustrate work carried out by Ingram and Cranfield on their homes. Maps, sketches, plans and paintings have all been utilised to help ascertain the location, size, and plan of the houses. Contemporary descriptions of the houses are beneficial to an understanding of how the homes of the gentlemen were viewed at the time. Seventeenth-century treatises on architecture and aspects of the home life of the elite support these specialised descriptions by providing an insight into early modern perceptions of building and culture. These contemporary sources have been contextualised by the use of secondary sources.

The actual houses themselves have been analysed where possible. Many of Ingram's houses still survive with only York Palace as the exception, which was demolished in 1817. New Lodge, now known as Sheriff Hutton Hall, and New Park, now the Royal

¹⁰⁶ I thank Edward Town for drawing my attention to these documents.

Hunting Lodge, are currently private residences. Gaining access to private homes can be problematic, as I found when attempting to view Sheriff Hutton Hall. Due to various complications I was unable to examine the house, which is disappointing as, although extensively remodelled in the first half of the eighteenth century by the Thompson family, the house still contains many of the interior features commissioned by Ingram. However, I was able to gain access to the Royal Hunting Lodge, which also contains many original features. This allowed a detailed examination of the spatial dimensions of the house and the situation of specific rooms, as is conveyed in Chapter 3. The Bootham almshouses are also now private residences and I was able to secure a visit to part of the building. In 1921 the Honourable Edward Wood, Lord Halifax, a descendant of the Ingram family put the almshouse into the hands of the York Charity Trustees. The almshouse was rebuilt on a different site in 1957, and the almshouse in Bootham was modernised and divided into four private flats, as which they still remain today.¹⁰⁷ Temple Newsam is the most accessible of Ingram's houses as it is now open to the public. The house was under the ownership of the Ingram family for three hundred years until Lord Halifax sold it, with its surrounding lands, to Leeds Corporation in 1922. After spending some time as an art gallery the house is now a museum which charts the history of its residents and displays exquisite furniture and furnishings that have been used to decorate the house over the years, making it especially useful for my study. Further, I was able to gain access to areas of the house not on display to the general public which gave me a greater understanding of how rooms would have been laid out in Sir Arthur Ingram's time.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Gilbert, "Ingram's Almshouse, York," p. 34.

¹⁰⁸ Chapter 3 looks in particular at how the chapel has subsequently been modified and restricted, see pp. 131-2.

Due to inevitable modernisation, few of Cranfield's houses survive in the state in which he inhabited them. Pishiobury house underwent significant modifications in 1662 by Sir Thomas Hewitt and then was almost completely re-built in 1782 by James Wyatt after a fire.¹⁰⁹ Copt Hall was demolished in 1748 by Edward Conyers and another house of the same name was erected not far from the old foundations.¹¹⁰ Wiston House is now used for corporate events and weddings as part of Wilton Park European Discussion Centre. After Edward Blore's rebuilding in the 1830s only the main front survives and, of the interior features, a chimneypiece, a hammer beam roof and some panelling.¹¹¹ Chelsea House was demolished altogether between 1739 and 1740 by Sir Hans Sloane and all that now remains of the house on the original site are sections of garden brick walls. Consequently, none of Cranfield's country houses have been able to be examined.

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter considers the connections between Ingram and Cranfield, exploring the ways they worked together to create their fortunes, and how they supported each other through financial difficulties. As well as an examination of their careers, which highlights the importance of patronage networks within the early Stuart court, the family life of the men is evaluated as it not only reveals another, softer, side to the men's characters but also how their own marriages and the marriages of their children aided their ascendancy and strengthened their social stature. The education and learning of the men is analysed alongside the attire and transport they purchased to reveal the ways in which they projected their 'self'. The recreational activities they took part in are discussed, exemplifying the importance of

¹⁰⁹ J. T. Smith, *Hertfordshire Houses: Selective Inventory* (London: RCHME, 1993), p. 170.

¹¹⁰ Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Essex*, (1954), revised by James Bettley with contributions from David Andrews, Nigel Brown and James Kemble, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 307-9.

¹¹¹ Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1965), pp. 382-4.

social networks in improving one's position in the social hierarchy. The only aspect of Ingram and Cranfield's characters which is not analysed in detail is their religious beliefs as religion does not appear to have played a great part in Ingram and Cranfield's lives. That is not to say they were not religious, but that they were conformists who did not draw particular attention to themselves on account of their beliefs, and consequently the men's biographers make little reference to their religious sympathies.¹¹² Chapter 6 looks at the use of religious images to decorate elite houses of the period but caution is taken in deducing too much about Ingram and Cranfield's religious sympathies from the art work they purchased as their doctrinal preferences do not always correspond with their aesthetic tastes.

After the evaluation of Ingram's and Cranfield's careers, family lives and personal self image, the thesis concentrates on their houses. Chapter 3 considers the houses which each constructed and remodelled, where they were located and the history of the residences, whilst contextualising the building programmes by comparison to their contemporaries. The next chapter analyses the layout of these buildings and the style in which they were erected and embellished. Chapter 5 examines the practical logistics of the building process, by evaluating the materials that were utilized and the craftsmen that were employed. Where materials were sourced from, how much they cost, and the expense of carriage, are all examined, with particular focus on the affect of geographical location on these. The social strata within the workforce, the places the workers were drawn from, and the wages they were paid are also debated with a view to establish whether a north-south divide was apparent. The relationship between patron and craftsmen is also evaluated, revealing the authority each possessed. Chapter 6 combines

¹¹² Cranfield had Arminian sympathies, see Prestwich, pp. 101, 537-8, 551, whereas Ingram had Puritan tendencies, see Upton, pp. 240-1, 252.

both aesthetics and practicalities as it considers both the furnishing and function of the house. Going indoors, the material consumption of goods to both adorn and facilitate life within the household reveals the house as simultaneously adopting Vitruvius' principles of *utilitas* and *venustas*.¹¹³ How the household was ordered and to what extent it was part of the community in which it was situated is examined, with particular emphasis on the issue of hospitality, a popular subject for moralists of the time. Chapter 7 returns outside to examine the layouts of the gardens and grounds at the various houses, noting the style in which gardens were designed and which features were used within them. In terms of whether a north-south divide was apparent in this area both the practicalities of gardening such as climate and productivity are discussed, as well as the aesthetics and the dissemination of garden styles.

The conclusion to the thesis draws together the different ways in which both Ingram and Cranfield projected their self-image, through their characters, dress, learning, patronage and familial relationships, the style and plan of their houses and gardens, and the hospitality they gave to the local community, and how successful this projection was in terms of aligning themselves with members of the social and political elite. It has already been stated that their ostracization from the court implies that their self-fashioning was flawed but the fact they both gained access to the court in the first place shows their ability to manipulate their identities to infiltrate the world of the courtier. The thesis uses the building programmes of Ingram and Cranfield to reveal that houses in the early seventeenth century were essential canvases on which to project the image of the owner and were a key aspect in the process of self-fashioning. Further, it

¹¹³ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, trans. Richard Schofield, intro. Robert Tavernor, (London: Penguin, 2009).

establishes that house building was not affected by a north-south divide but was predominantly influenced by a provincial-metropolitan dichotomy.

Projecting the self

An evaluation of the careers of Ingram and Cranfield will set their house building in context as the fortunes they amassed through their mercantile activities and official posts made it possible for them to indulge in such architectural pursuits. In their later careers, the court environment in which they operated not only provided them with sufficient funds to embark on their building campaigns, it also allowed them to converse with other courtiers which not only aided their social mobility but simultaneously compounded their status anxiety. The perceptions of their peers and superiors are explored to evaluate how successful Ingram and Cranfield were in portraying themselves as ‘gentlemen’. Their visual image, conveyed through their dress and portraiture, is examined alongside their educational background and the social activities they indulged in to measure whether they were consistent with the model of the early modern gentleman depicted in such treatises as *The Compleat Gentleman* by Henry Peacham (1622) and *The English Gentleman* by Richard Brathwaite (1630).¹ Ingram and Cranfield’s families were also highly significant in aiding their social aspirations and the matches they made for their children highlight their desires to establish family names of good repute. The relationships and networks they cultivated, and the image of the self they projected in these exchanges had a direct effect on the houses they built. As the next chapter will show, the men’s houses consolidated the image of worth they attempted to present to society through their own persons.

¹ Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable qualities concerning minde or bodie that may be required in a noble gentleman*, (1622); Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman*, (1630).

2.1 Careers

This section focuses on the aspects of Ingram's and Cranfield's careers that fostered their social mobility; most potently the patronage they sought and received. The expulsions of each of them from court are also examined as this clearly affected both men's public images and the lives they went on to lead after their political opportunities ceased.

One rule I desire may be observed between you and me,
which is that neither of us seek to advance our estates by
the other's loss, but that we may join together faithfully to
raise our fortunes by such casualties as this stirring age
shall afford.²

Cranfield's words to Ingram in 1607 sum up their relationship as business partners, assisting and supporting each other at every opportunity. Their upward mobility was also due to the patronage they received from eminent courtiers. Right from the start of the seventeenth century Ingram was securing patronage from court circles, with Robert Cecil aiding the first recorded business venture between Ingram and Cranfield. In 1602 the two merchants, along with their other partner William Massam, made large profits from the sale of goods, such as spices and silks, that were part of the cargo of the Portuguese ship 'St Valentine'.³ The pepper that was on board was damp however, and they only secured the sale of it through the help of Cecil, who sold them some 'good Crown pepper to mix with the bad.'⁴ This was the beginning of a fruitful relationship with Cecil, especially for Ingram, which gave both men a powerful contact at court. Ingram was at this point the man with the contacts and it was Cranfield who wrote to

² *Various VIII*, p. 5, 18 August 1607.

³ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 49-52; Upton, p. 8; Prestwich, p. 58. Ingram and Cranfield made profits from other deals concerning confiscated goods from ships, see *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 158-160, 344, Upton, pp. 8-10, Prestwich, p. 125.

⁴ Prestwich, p. 58. Cranfield practised similar methods in the cloth business, informing his agent in Stade, Richard Rawstorm, to 'make choice of show kersies to my most advantage', whilst concealing any defective cloths, see *Cranfield Papers II*, p. 172.

Ingram to request him to talk to Cecil to secure various deals.⁵ Ingram was successful in his role as middleman, as is clearly shown in his letter to Cranfield in 1608 in which he stated ‘I hath spoken with my lo. of Salisbury about the tobacco and there will be a course taken that will content us.’⁶ Upton comments that by 1608 Ingram was a ‘recognized contact man, linking the Court and City interests, with an extensive clientele on both sides’, and it was his utility to both parties that aided his advancement.⁷ Cecil was indebted to Ingram as he had helped him secure a higher lease for both the farm of the silk duties and the great farm of the customs by setting up rival syndicates to bid against other groups of merchants for the farms.⁸ Ingram was duly rewarded as he not only received an increase in his salary as controller of the port of London in 1605, but Cecil also secured the running of the alum industry for him and almost certainly had a hand in gaining him his first seat in parliament, when he sat for Stafford in 1610.⁹

Although Ingram had influential contacts in the early years it was Cranfield who tended to finance a significant number of Ingram’s shares in their dealings together.¹⁰ Ingram played on his friendship with Cranfield to secure funds, ‘I do entreat you of the old love

⁵ Cranfield, writing to Ingram in 1607 about the farming of dye-woods, told him to ‘[a]ssure my Lord Salisbury there shall be no monopoly that shall cause a general clamour’ suggesting Ingram had access to Cecil whereas Cranfield did not, *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 146. Cranfield’s accounts for the year 1609 reveal that he now visited Cecil himself, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 213.

⁶ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 174.

⁷ Upton, pp. 21-22.

⁸ Upton, pp. 3-5, *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 57-9, 69-70.

⁹ For Ingram’s salary increase see Upton, p. 5. The alum industry occupied Ingram until 1625 when he faced charges for mismanagement, but it must be remembered that despite this, and the large amounts of money the Crown sunk into the industry with little reward, Ingram had established an industry which was to prove very lucrative to the crown in future years, see Upton, pp. 28-30, 144-5. Chamberlain reported that Ingram’s accounts for the alum mines were ‘found short to the value of 50,000li’, *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 460, 23 October 1624, p. 585. For Ingram’s first foray into politics see Upton, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ Cranfield aided Ingram in the logwood business, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 148. He also paid for half of his share in a license to export undressed cloth, see Upton, pp. 11-12, see below, note 193.

that hath been between us to do this favour for me.’¹¹ Cranfield certainly had more money at his disposal than Ingram at this time. A draft will drawn up by Cranfield as early as July 1601, when he was only 26 years old, reveals that he had already amassed a substantial fortune of roughly £6,600. By 1606 this had almost doubled, with Cranfield estimating his wealth at £12,820, his ‘house and stuff’ making up £2,000 of this total.¹² Ingram sailed much closer to the wind than Cranfield and in 1611 was ‘broken for great summes’, having to plead with Cranfield to rescue him, ‘[m]y poor reputation is at stake and I protest before God I know not how to help myself but by your good means.’¹³ Ingram was prepared to go to great lengths to secure his good name stating that he would ‘wear no other weapon but my rapier and dagger,’ implying he considered the duel as the best way to defend his honour.¹⁴ The duel did reach its peak in the second decade of the seventeenth century but this was mainly in aristocratic circles.¹⁵ In 1611 Ingram was still a merchant yet to be knighted and by hoping to bolster his image by a duel was aligning himself with the elite. Cranfield did his best to help his friend but it was Ingram’s court contacts that put an end to the saga.¹⁶ Three signatories, Baron Ellesmere, Northampton, and Cecil, signed a testimonial in Ingram’s favour which named him as ‘an vnderstanding officer a good citizen and an honest man.’¹⁷ Such support from this powerful triumvirate rectified what could have been a catastrophic situation for Ingram.

¹¹ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 148.

¹² *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 43, 131.

¹³ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 126, 20 November 1611, p. 316; *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 251; It was Ingram’s heavy investment in crown lands on borrowed money that caused his near bankruptcy, see Upton, p. 35.

¹⁴ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 252.

¹⁵ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp. 242-250.

¹⁶ Upton, p. 35.

¹⁷ BL, Lansdowne MSS 92, no. 29, fol. 53, 11 November 1611.

Northampton and other members of the Howard family were to prove influential patrons for both Ingram and Cranfield. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord High Admiral, was the first Howard whom Ingram and Cranfield came into contact with. In early 1605 Nottingham, along with his son William, Lord Effingham, was granted the right to license taverns and wine-shops. Ingram had secured this farm for Nottingham and consequently leased the farm from him for £3,000 a year, along with John Fearne and James Cullimore. Not long after this the lease was shared between more partners, including Cranfield.¹⁸ Nottingham and his son regularly borrowed money from Ingram and Cranfield, and Effingham was so indebted to Cranfield that he had to give Donnington Castle to him as a way of easing his debt.¹⁹ As with Gargrave and Frobisher, Cranfield secured land through exploiting Effingham's financial difficulties. Nottingham offered little to Ingram and Cranfield in the way of gaining court favour or office but his relative, Northampton, was one of the leading figures at court and aided both Ingram's and Cranfield's ascendancy. Northampton had been involved in the starch monopoly with Ingram and Cranfield in 1608 and later secured both men seats in parliament; Ingram sat for Romney and Cranfield sat for Hythe, one of the Cinque Ports, in the addled parliament of 1614.²⁰

It was Northampton who first introduced Cranfield to the king in 1612, as Bishop Goodman relates, '[m]y Lord of Northampton taking a great good liking of Mr. Cranfield, he brings him to the King and recommends him to him, with whom the King had some conference, and having a great reach and seeing far into a man, finding great abilities in Mr. Cranfield, he thought him fit to draw him into some nearness unto

¹⁸ Upton, pp. 54-5, Prestwich, p. 62

¹⁹ Upton, pp. 56-7; *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 87-90, 150; Prestwich, pp. 73-4.

²⁰ Upton, pp. 68-9; Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), p. 125.

himself.’²¹ After their earlier involvement in the starch business together Cranfield had cemented his relationship with Northampton in 1611 when he attained some crown lands for him which were close to his house at Greenwich. Not only did he persuade the other members of the syndicate dealing in crown lands to grant the land freely to Northampton but he himself secured more land by paying off Northampton’s neighbour Sir Nicholas Stoddard.²² Stoddard informed Cranfield in May 1612, ‘I holding myself almost assured of your desire to gratify my lord of Northampton with manifesting of your love towards him, and I having an especial desire that his lo^p may have good satisfaction in his desire towards the enlarging of his house at Greenwich, in regard thereof I do here present an offer unto you.’²³ Cranfield’s negotiations clearly did gratify Northampton as it was shortly after this that he received his afore-mentioned introduction to court. From 1612 onwards Cranfield was consulted by Northampton about trade and customs issues, and Cranfield’s insights into these matters led Northampton to believe him ‘more witty and of better judgement’ than any other merchant.²⁴

Northampton’s nephew, Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, also had a connection with Ingram and Cranfield from their early years as customs farmers. Suffolk sub-let the farm of the currant duties, which he had acquired in 1604, to Ingram and Cranfield.²⁵ Suffolk was heavily indebted to Ingram, with his income as Lord Treasurer failing to

²¹ Goodman, I, p. 306.

²² The land was used not only to extend his house but also to establish Trinity Hospital, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 265.

²³ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 265; Cranfield clearly did not keep his promise to Stoddard on the payment of the land as Stoddard wrote to him in 1614 still requesting the money, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 266.

²⁴ Prestwich, p. 116; *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 274; Pauline Croft, “Howard, Henry, earl of Northampton (1540–1614),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004–), accessed 20/09/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13906?docPos=5>.

²⁵ Upton, p. 7; Prestwich, p. 60.

meet his great expenditure, one principal cost being the building of his house at Audley End.²⁶ Suffolk aided Ingram's plea for the alum industry to be put under royal control and helped secure the management of the alum farm for Ingram in 1615.²⁷ Suffolk not only used his influence to gain Ingram a payment of £10,000 out of the Exchequer for the running of the farm but, in 1617, cancelled Ingram's debt of £12,340 which he owed to the crown under the penalty clause that the works had not produced the full quota of alum.²⁸ Suffolk's trial in 1619 included charges which referred to the alum business, and another transaction which concerned Ingram whereby he had colluded with the treasurer to force Sir David Murray to sell his privy seal (which authorised payment to him from the exchequer) to Ingram which was of great profit to him and Suffolk.²⁹ Although Suffolk was ruined after his trial Ingram escaped relatively unscathed and Upton believes that this was because of Ingram's strong links to Cranfield, who was part of the new regime ushered in by the rise of George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham.³⁰

Before their downfall the Howards, along with the king's favourite, Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset, had backed Ingram's greatest attempt to become a courtier.³¹ Ingram

²⁶ Upton, p. 69; Prestwich, pp. 159-60.

²⁷ Prestwich, pp. 163-4.

²⁸ Upton, p. 121; Prestwich, pp. 163-4.

²⁹ Upton, pp. 80-1.

³⁰ Ingram still remained in contact with Suffolk after his fall, largely to reclaim the debts the former Lord Treasurer owed him. Suffolk's descendents were still borrowing from Ingram up until his death in 1642 and Ingram's heirs were sued by Suffolk's grandson in the 1660s for Ingram's failure to pay some of the Suffolks' creditors see Upton, pp. 82-5 and Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 290. Suffolk also used Ingram's services in 1620 when he transferred his lands to Ingram and Lord William Howard so that the crown could not seize them, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 344, 8 January 1620, p. 281. Evidence of Cranfield's protection of Ingram is found in the fact he used his influence in 1618 to secure an agreement that Ingram only had to pay £3,000, rather than £6,000, in penalties to the crown, see Upton, p. 124.

³¹ Somerset was by this time related to the Howards, having married Suffolk's daughter Frances in 1613 after her marriage to the Earl of Essex was annulled, Upton, pp. 66-7; Prestwich, pp. 170-1.

bought the office of the Cofferer of the Royal Household in February 1615, but was unable to serve it due to the mutinous staff who refused to take orders from a man of humble origins who had displaced the next in line. The household officers were particularly galled by the fact that Ingram's instalment had breached the new seniority rule that James had promised.³² Although Ingram's low social origins were held against him it appears the officers were more concerned with his less than spotless reputation and conceited character. Chamberlain's reference to Ingram as a 'scandalous fellow', stated in the previous chapter, reflects the opinions of the household officers as that is how, Chamberlain remarked, 'they paint him out to be.'³³ Chamberlain reported that by April 1615 Ingram had to carry his 'brave furniture' from court, with the word 'brave' suggesting Ingram's arrogance was even reflected in his furnishings.³⁴

A contemporary ballad noted the embarrassment Sir Arthur suffered when he was refused his meals by the other household officials, observing that he 'came blustering out / as red as any oker / and all the court laugh't and cryed out / make room for this great broaker.'³⁵ This ballad has been ascribed to Sir John Gibson, presumably the same John Gibson who secured the lease of the alum farm for thirty-one years in 1632, suggesting the ballad may have stemmed from Gibson's wish to discredit Ingram, resulting in his own gain.³⁶ Chamberlain informed Dudley Carleton that 'yf this busines of Ingrams had not ben I know not how we shold have entertained ourselves, for this whole moneth

³² Upton, pp. 72-3.

³³ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 224, 2 March 1615, p. 585.

³⁴ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 228, to Alice Carleton, 6 April 1615, p. 595; It was only in the preceding month that Ingram was clearly furnishing his Whitehall lodgings, sending 'a frame of a picture' to Whitehall, WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

³⁵ C. G. Gilbert, "A Newly Discovered Ballad on Sir Arthur Ingram," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 60 (1967): 16-17.

³⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I, 1637-8*, ed. John Bruce, (London: Longman, 1869), vol. 374, no. 33, p. 28, 20 December 1637.

together yt hath filled both court and citie, with dayly newes and discourse.’³⁷ Ingram’s image, then, had been tarnished in gossip but also immortalised in verse. This rejection from court society was crucial in shaping the rest of Ingram’s career. It was after this setback that Sir Arthur relocated to Yorkshire where he concentrated his energies on building up a fine estate and consolidating county relationships with local gentry. Upton claims that Ingram was accepted in Yorkshire as ‘the provincial gentry could not afford to set such high standards.’³⁸ Here Upton hits on the main crux of this thesis, that it was the provinces, not particularly the north, that were viewed as inferior. As will be illustrated, the north-south divide as a concept is too simplistic when considered in terms of the national dissemination of architectural style and garden design, the acquisition of craftsmen and materials, and the acquisition of material goods and the provision of hospitality. It is a provincial-metropolitan, rather than a north-south, dichotomy that becomes apparent when analysing the available material. Gibson’s ballad confirms that contemporaries were aware of the divide between the provinces and the metropolis, writing that ‘[w]hen Arthur first in court began / he had not long to raigne / the Country sent him to the Court / Court kickt him back againe.’³⁹ Gibson does not mention the north but simply sees anywhere other than the court as the country, reflecting the view that, at the time, people were probably more aware of a distinction between the centre and the peripheries rather than any divide which may have been apparent between the north and the south of England.

Ingram had already purchased the office of secretary to the Council of the North in 1613, with Chamberlain reporting in March 1613 that ‘Ingram is leaving this towne and

³⁷ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 226, 30 March 1615, p. 590.

³⁸ Upton, p. 76.

³⁹ Gilbert, “A Newly Discovered Ballad on Sir Arthur Ingram,” p. 17.

going to Yorke, where he hath bought the secretaries place of Sir Robert Carie, for himself and his two sonnes in reversion for 6000li.⁴⁰ Ingram began sending goods to York soon after this, but still spent the greater part of his time in London, at his house at Stratford-le-Bowe.⁴¹ As secretary to the Council of the North, Ingram would gain respect, but he attained greater prestige a year after becoming secretary when he was admitted as a member of the council itself. This highly regarded position would have marked him out to his new neighbours as a man of influence. However in 1625, after he no longer had Cranfield to support him at Court, Ingram was dropped from the membership of the Council of the North. A letter to Secretary Conway expresses his embarrassment, 'it had only touched mee in point of Reputacon, which (I confesse) is deere and pretious unto mee'.⁴² Ingram insisted that the matter should be cleared up as soon as possible as delays meant that 'the Countrey hath (all this while) suffered very much'.⁴³ However, as Upton points out, Ingram's salary as secretary of the council was also on hold whilst the matter was disputed.⁴⁴ This led Upton to believe that money was the most important motive for Ingram. However, Ingram fought for nearly a whole year to regain his position even whilst collecting his fees for his secretarial role, implying that he craved the renown that came with being a full member of the council. Ingram achieved his aim in April 1626 and it is clear through his later lack of commitment to

⁴⁰ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 170, 11 March 1630, p. 438; see also *Various VIII*, p. 8 and Upton, p. 65.

⁴¹ WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

⁴² TNA, SP16/4 fol. 138, Ingram to Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, 20 July 1625.

⁴³ TNA, SP16/4 fol. 138, Ingram to Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, 20 July 1625; Ingram did not seem as concerned with the county when he was paying his clerks with the Council of the North's money. John Ibson wrote to Ingram that the Lord President 'says that if you will have clerks you must give them exhibition out of your own and not maintain them at the country's charge', see *Various VIII*, p. 21.

⁴⁴ Upton, p. 104.

the council that it was the prestige, rather than the duties, the position held that attracted him to the post.⁴⁵

Ingram's links to the court, which although affected by the alum enquiry of 1625 were not severed like Cranfield's, would also have confirmed his status to his Yorkshire associates. He became High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1619, which was advantageous for securing the favour of men of high standing within the local community, especially Sir Thomas Wentworth, future Earl of Strafford.⁴⁶ Ingram was clearly on good terms with Wentworth by 1619, receiving a letter from him on 21 December of that year which he signed off 'Youres in all affeccon and freindshipp'.⁴⁷ Ingram aided Wentworth's parliamentary ambitions in 1620, even providing his York residence as a headquarters for Wentworth's supporters.⁴⁸ Wentworth became Lord President of the Council of the North in 1629, making Ingram an intimate friend of the most powerful man in Yorkshire.⁴⁹ Ingram carried out many duties for Wentworth, the most notable of which were securing him the farm of the recusancy fines in the north and the farm of the Irish customs, which led to Wentworth being installed as Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1631.⁵⁰ However, both these projects proved fatal for Ingram's friendships as he lost Wentworth over the recusancy farm and Cranfield over the farm of the Irish customs.

⁴⁵ Ingram was not resident in York during the vacation even though the King had stated that the secretary and one member of the council should be available in the city for any urgent business that occurred, see Upton, p. 169.

⁴⁶ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 340, 13 November 1619, p. 272; Upton, p. 153.

⁴⁷ *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, pp. 128-9.

⁴⁸ Ingram also offered his house for Wentworth's use when he was chosen as sheriff in 1625 to save him some expense, and had a room prepared for him in his house in Westminster which he offered to Wentworth after his release from prison in 1627 when Wentworth refused the forced loan, see Upton, pp. 153, 212-3. Wentworth's father, Sir William, warned him of the 'great losse and danger' in being sheriff of Yorkshire and advised him to do his utmost to avoid it, *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, p. 12. However, Wentworth had no way of avoiding the position as, as a member of the opposition, he had provoked Buckingham's ire and was consequently pricked as sheriff in 1625 to exclude him from the up-coming parliament, see Upton, p. 212.

⁴⁹ Upton, p. 214.

⁵⁰ Upton, pp. 214, 219-221.

Ingram angered Wentworth by interfering with the recusancy farm whilst Wentworth was in Ireland. Ingram arranged an increase in payment for the collection of recusancy fines through his links to the Lord Treasurer Weston but took over the running of the farm from Wentworth's deputy Sir Edward Osborne so that he received the money himself and he did all this without consulting Wentworth on the matter.⁵¹ Wentworth was furious, especially by the implication that Ingram was able to run the farm better than he was, writing 'am I in this short time of absence grown so despicable in your eyes, as by you to be considered or looked upon for some poor thing, which you may handle and tumble as you please.'⁵² Wentworth's later opinion of Ingram more than likely cost Ingram the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Laud wrote to Wentworth for his view on the matter and Wentworth replied that 'I know well his avarice is sordid howbeit his wealth prodigious: of an insolent and vainglorious nature, no honesty or rule to be had further than stands with his own gain'⁵³ This was one gain that would have been a great achievement for Ingram but his own greed had hindered his chances. Like Cranfield had done with Prince Charles and Buckingham, Ingram had overstepped the mark with his patron; he had simultaneously showed the influence he could work at court which recognised his social mobility but at the same time he had acted in a way that fulfilled the stereotype of a base merchant.

Ingram double-crossed Cranfield in the negotiations for the Irish customs by agreeing to be Cranfield's agent to secure his syndicate of the farm but then at the last minute gaining it for a rival syndicate which was formally under the names of Robert Cogan,

⁵¹ Upton, pp. 224-227.

⁵² Wentworth had forced Ingram out of the Irish farm by 1637, see Upton, pp. 227-8, 232.

⁵³ Upton, pp. 51, 234.

Lord Mountnorris and Sir Arthur Ingram the younger. The shares, however, were divided not only between the three named but also with Wentworth, who held a quarter, and his friend George Radcliffe, who had an eighth. Ingram himself ended up with a half interest in the farm as his son's three-eighths and Cogan's eighth were provided by him.⁵⁴ Cranfield had been out-manoeuvred by his former partner and as well as suffering at the hands of Ingram's deceit Cranfield no doubt found it particularly galling that the farm became very prosperous.⁵⁵

After Ingram's break with Wentworth he found another powerful patron in Henry Rich, the Earl of Holland. In 1636 Holland used his position as Chancellor of Cambridge University to aid Ingram's petition to keep collecting the tithes of Normanton in Yorkshire, which were farmed out by Trinity College, and three years later wrote to the mayor and aldermen of Windsor recommending Sir Arthur as a burgess for the next parliament.⁵⁶ In return Ingram arranged Holland's son's marriage to his granddaughter, helped him in exploiting the royal claims to forest rights, provided regular funds to him and aided his building works at Holland House in London.⁵⁷ Ingram followed Holland's movements in the lead up to the Civil War by supporting Holland's position as commander of the royal cavalry in Scotland in 1639 and then as Lord General of the parliamentary troops in 1641.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Upton, pp. 220-1; Prestwich, pp. 494-6.

⁵⁵ The farm had made £5,000 net profit within the first year and this figure continued to rise over the years, see Upton, pp. 233.

⁵⁶ For securing the tithes see Upton, pp. 200-204. Holland's request to the mayor of Windsor was successful but Ingram chose to sit for Callington, a rotten borough of Cornwall, instead, which highlighted his connection to the opposition, see Upton, pp. 242-3 and *Various VIII*, p. 53.

⁵⁷ Upton, p. 237. For Ingram's involvement in the marriage arrangements and for the re-modelling of Holland House see Chapter 5.

⁵⁸ Upton, pp. 241-245.

After Ingram's retreat to Yorkshire and the fall of the Howard family in 1618 the power balance between Ingram and Cranfield changed. Cranfield, who after Northampton's death in 1614 had attached himself to the rising star, George Villiers, was now the influential figure at court and began to support Ingram.⁵⁹ After becoming a cupbearer and attracting James' attention in 1614, Villiers was knighted just a year later and simultaneously made a gentleman of the bedchamber, a position of key influence.⁶⁰ Cranfield advised Villiers on various financial matters from 1615 onwards and in 1618 helped him attain the farm of the Irish customs, which eventually made the favourite a very profitable £3,500 a year.⁶¹ Cranfield's own retrenchment policies for the household were only made possible due to Villiers' support, a favour which he returned by reforming the navy which led to the instalment of Buckingham (as he now was) in the post of Lord Admiral in January 1619.⁶² Cranfield also helped secure Buckingham's marriage to Katherine Manners and then raise the funds to buy his first marital home, Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland, by suggesting he sold his lease of the coal farm when a new imposition of tax on the export of coal was devised.⁶³ After his own rapid

⁵⁹ Upton, p. 85.

⁶⁰ Lockyer, *Buckingham*, pp. 17, 20.

⁶¹ Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 48.

⁶² Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 49; Elizabeth's household costs were roughly £48,000 a year, but by 1617 costs were around £77,630. Although James, unlike Elizabeth, had a family to support the rise of £30,000 a year seems exorbitant, especially as Prince Henry was dead by this time and Princess Elizabeth was married, therefore leaving only Queen Anne and Prince Charles to sustain. After Cranfield's modifications to household procedures, such as reducing the number of courses eaten, economising on beer, burning candles to the end, and paying in ready money (rather than on credit) for spices and poultry, savings of £18,000 a year were made. Cranfield's achievement is clear when the cost of the household in Charles' reign is considered; by the early 1640s it was at nearly £88,000 a year, see Prestwich, pp. 207-9; for details of Cranfield's reform of the navy see Prestwich, pp. 212-8 and Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 50; Cranfield's success in reducing the ordnance expenditure was significant, from £34,000 a year to £14,000, see Prestwich, p. 219. For further analysis of Cranfield's reforms see Robert Ashton, "Deficit Finance in the Reign of James I," *The Economic History Review*, n. s., 10:1 (1957): 15-29.

⁶³ Lockyer, *Buckingham*, pp. 59, 62-3.

advancement Buckingham carried out the most significant act any of Cranfield's patrons had performed for him by procuring him the earldom of Middlesex.⁶⁴

It was only a year later, however, that Cranfield fell foul of Buckingham during the negotiations for the Spanish match. Although Cranfield was impeached for bribery and corruption in May 1624, there is a general consensus that if he had not obstinately opposed Buckingham his impeachment would probably never have happened, but, as Lockyer states, Cranfield 'chose to break rather than bend.'⁶⁵ Cranfield was unwilling to acquiesce in Buckingham's and Charles' calls for war with Spain as he knew the exchequer, which he had successfully managed for three years, could not finance a conflict of this nature.⁶⁶ Cranfield's insistence that Charles should marry the Spanish Infanta for the economic good of the nation was not well received by the future king. The Prince retorted that Cranfield should 'judge of his merchandises, if he would, for he was no arbiter in points of honour.'⁶⁷ Cranfield's mercantile background made him an irresistible target for taunts not just from the future king, but many other courtiers, as is discussed below. Thomas Locke reported to Dudley Carleton on 26 December 1623 that '[t]he Lo: Tres hath stayed the passing of some things granted to the D. of Buck wch makes them looke strange upon each other,' suggesting the rift between the former friends was public knowledge.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 54.

⁶⁵ Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 176.

⁶⁶ Pauline Croft, *King James*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 124. Cranfield was supported in his desire for the Spanish match by the Earl of Arundel, Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir George Calvert, Secretary of State, and John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 446, 31 January 1624, pp. 541-2. All these courtiers, however, had different motives for their desire for peace with Spain and for various reasons they all ended up deserting Cranfield, see Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883), V, p. 228.

⁶⁷ Gardiner, *History of England*, V, p. 229.

⁶⁸ TNA, SP14/156, fol. 4.

Cranfield's retrenchment, which had been supported by Buckingham, had also made him unpopular to many, being 'little beloved in the citie and lesse in the court' as early as 1618, when he first began reforming the household.⁶⁹ Cranfield himself realised his economising policies had made him widely disliked and, referring to the suits he had denied Sir Henry Mildmay, he reasoned that his 'dutie & care to doe His Ma^{ts} right, did begett this ill affection in him; as I may for the same cause expect the like of others.'⁷⁰ Despite this he was unwilling to bow to pressure placed on him by courtiers stating that it 'must not, nor shall discourage or disharten me, in dischardging the faith & dutie I owe to His Ma^{ts} service'.⁷¹

According to Chamberlain, Cranfield's political practices were not any more corrupt than his predecessors in the post of Lord Treasurer but he was targeted because of his 'harsh and insolent behaviour to all' and, among other things, 'his unrespective carriage toward the Prince'.⁷² Cranfield's character was clearly a major part of his downfall, and in trying to project an image of himself as an important, powerful figure, he overstepped the mark. He did not show enough respect to his future sovereign and he arrogantly thought he was too powerful to be toppled. Chamberlain's letters continually comment

⁶⁹ Chamberlain reported that Cranfield was 'more forward, and (as they say) more insolent and sawcie then any of the rest' in his household reforms and perhaps this is why they did come to fruition despite Chamberlain believing they would 'fall to the ground as such things use to do that are undertaken by unskilfull men and out of theyre owne element, and against so many and well backt adversaries,' see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 290, 16 March 1618, pp. 149-50.

⁷⁰ TNA, SP14/153/8^r, Cranfield to Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, 2 October 1623.

⁷¹ TNA, SP14/153/8^r, Cranfield to Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, 2 October 1623; most of Cranfield's retrenchment policies were re-instated by many of the men who had acted in his downfall, as when England went to war with Spain the financial consequences were as Cranfield had predicted. As well as using Cranfield's previous methods of reform the crown had to resort to even more unpopular methods of revenue collection such as the Forced Loan which put a great strain on the relations between the king and his subjects. After all these measures were taken some courtiers sought the advice of Cranfield, see Prestwich, p. 465.

⁷² *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 449, 10 April 1624, pp. 552-3.

upon Cranfield's confidence and in one letter he expresses how his confidence was badly received by others, 'he still carried himself rather audaciously then boldly, and so insolently and impudently in outfacing manifest truths as yf he sought rather to irritate then mollifie his judges'.⁷³ It is apparent that this public confidence might differ from his private feelings as Chamberlain recounted that 'for all his high lookes I heare he is much dejected at home'.⁷⁴ However, George Lowe wrote to Ingram that Cranfield 'rides abroad almost every day in his coach with his lady to take the air and seems not much dejected with his troubles'.⁷⁵ This practise of regularly being seen out in his coach implies that Cranfield did not want to *appear* dejected even if he privately was. This is yet another example of the importance he placed on public image.

Cranfield behaved with 'wonderfull pride' during his trial due to his belief in James' power to save him.⁷⁶ James did speak in the House of Lords for Cranfield explaining that the impositions placed on wine were sanctioned by him and that Cranfield was only serving his monarch.⁷⁷ However, his speech was 'ambiguous' and although it 'began with mercie ... [it] ended with judgement'.⁷⁸ In April Dudley Carleton's son wrote that Cranfield 'will be made a sacrifice, for the King has forsaken him, and he has no friend ... The world cries "Down with him;" there has been no man in England these 200 years whose ruin has been so thirsted after by all sorts of people'.⁷⁹ Carleton was right in stating Cranfield had 'no friend', for even Ingram, his oldest associate, had deserted him. Ingram testified against Cranfield on the charge concerning the Dallison lands,

⁷³ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 451, 13 May 1624, p. 559.

⁷⁴ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 450, 30 April 1624, p. 556.

⁷⁵ *Various VIII*, p. 27, 7 August 1624.

⁷⁶ TNA, SP14/163, fols. 1-2, Sir Edward Conway Jnr. to Dudley Carleton, 18 April 1624.

⁷⁷ TNA, SP14/164, fols. 92-93, Thomas Locke to Dudley Carleton, 8 May 1624.

⁷⁸ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 451, 13 May 1624, p. 559.

⁷⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of James I, 1623-25*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, (London: Longman, 1859), vol. 162, no. 56, p. 214, 14 April 1624.

claiming that it was Cranfield's responsibility to pay all the private creditors even though Ingram had taken over the lands in 1622. To make matters worse Ingram had blackmailed Cranfield into paying him £1,000 the day before he took the stand, claiming Cranfield still owed him that amount from the land exchange but making it clear that if Cranfield did not pay up he would not support him in court. Cranfield did pay Ingram but despite this Ingram testified against his oldest friend to save his own skin.⁸⁰

By 1635 Cranfield's rule whereby 'neither of us seek to advance our estates by the other's loss' was well and truly broken. They had suffered rifts throughout the years, such as their quarrels over their land exchange and Ingram's actions throughout Cranfield's trial, but it was Ingram's deception of Cranfield over the Irish customs in 1631 that permanently soured their relationship.⁸¹ Ingram was still trying to get sums of money from Cranfield in 1641, asking for the paltry sum of £13 10^s from their dealing in the cargo of the 'Pearl', which had occurred nearly thirty years ago.⁸² Cranfield found Ingram's demands 'most unjust and unreasonable', whilst Ingram made one last attempt to requite their friendship in 1642 writing 'I shall heartily desire that whensoever it shall please God to call us we may die in love and kindness together.'⁸³ But in the same year Ingram wrote again requesting repayment for another trifling amount which suggests he was more concerned with the pecuniary aspects of their relationship than the emotional ones.⁸⁴ This of course enraged Cranfield and the pair died, Ingram in 1642 and Cranfield in 1645, on bad terms.

⁸⁰ Prestwich, pp. 405-6.

⁸¹ Prestwich, p. 535; See Chapter 3, p. 109, for their arguments over the land exchange.

⁸² Prestwich, p. 535.

⁸³ Prestwich, p. 536.

⁸⁴ Prestwich, p. 536.

2.2 Families

The account of Ingram's and Cranfield's careers portrays them as ruthless characters with few redeeming qualities but when their family lives are considered a more amiable side is revealed. Both men suffered the loss of children which deeply affected them. Ingram wrote to Cranfield that 'it hath pleased God to call my boy to his mercy' and that '[b]y reason of this sudden action I am not willing to come from Bow as yet' indicating that he required private time to deal with his grief. However, the letter ends with the request that, as he is unable to leave his home, Cranfield must supply Cecil with the money Ingram had promised him.⁸⁵ Ingram later lost another son, Lionel, before he reached the age of six, and had a commemorative wall tablet erected in York Minster, which praised his son as a 'blessed and beautiful boy' (Figure 1). The monument not only shows Ingram's love for his son but simultaneously boasts of Ingram's prowess as a father by having created such an 'obedient' son who was the 'hope and delight of his mother's care and occupation'. The monument, aside from revealing Ingram's affection for his family, is another example of his own self-projection, portraying himself as the model father.⁸⁶ Cranfield also lost three young children from his second marriage, William, Mary and Susan, but the death of his daughter Mary from his first marriage, who died aged twenty-five, appears to have had the most emotional impact on him.⁸⁷

The affection shown to Cranfield by his children suggests he was a loving father. Martha was particularly concerned for her father's welfare and even suffered a

⁸⁵ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 235, c.1611.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of the architectural style of the monument see Chapter 4, pp. 201-2.

⁸⁷ Prestwich, p. 519.

miscarriage supposedly through worry brought on by her father's impeachment.⁸⁸ Cranfield's second wife, Anne Brett, also seems to have cared greatly for her husband, writing 'you ar fearfull that Milcott is to cold for you, but I dare presume you will thinck you ar come out of prison into parradise; for so it is in comparison, save that youre absence abates the beauty and contentment'⁸⁹ Lady Cranfield was obviously keen for her husband to come to the country so that she could enjoy his company. Ingram showed great affection for his third wife, Mary. He addressed her as 'Swett hart' in a letter of 4 December 1621 and signed it from 'your *very* loving husband.'⁹⁰ Ingram also treated his wife to visits to the theatre when she was in London with him, a prime opportunity for public display.⁹¹ Sir Arthur's daughter, Elizabeth, was also clearly dear to him as in June 1636 he paid a scholar to write poetry about her.⁹² He regularly visited her at her marital home in St. Bartholomew's, London, and often took musical instruments to and from her house suggesting they spent time together relaxing and entertaining.⁹³

⁸⁸ Prestwich, p. 509.

⁸⁹ CKS, U269/1 CP75, 7 November 1636.

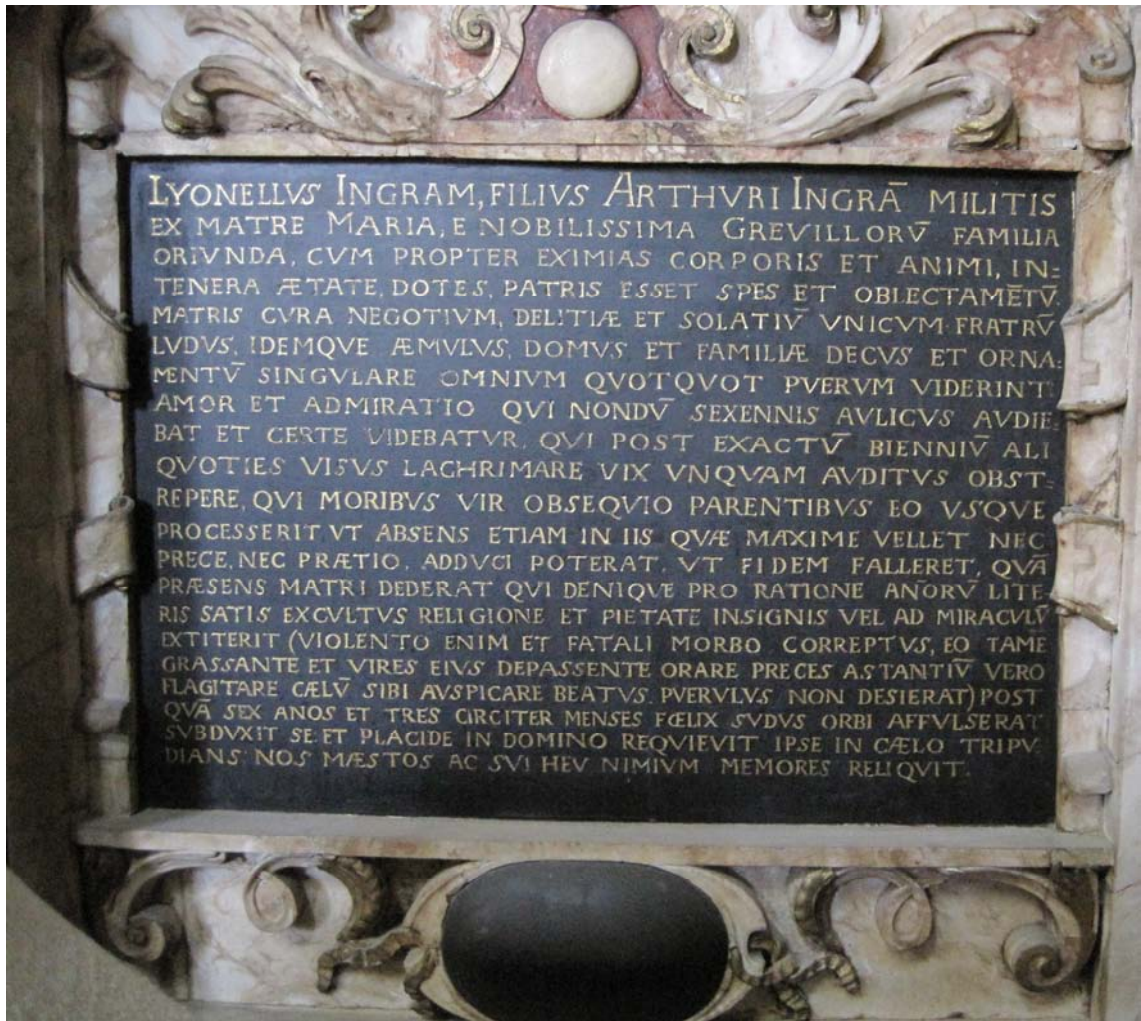
⁹⁰ *Various VIII*, pp. 20-21, my italics.

⁹¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 29 November 1633 and 27 January 1634; Cranfield also visited the theatre on numerous occasions but his wife is not recorded in the accounts as accompanying him, see CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 1 December 1609, 9 March 1613.

⁹² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, see Chapter 6, p. 367.

⁹³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, for music see 3 January 1634.

Figure 1: Detail of inscription on Lionel Ingram's memorial, St. Stephen's Chapel, York Minster



Cranfield's relationship with his mother, Martha, further illuminates his character, revealing yet another side to him which was not displayed throughout his career. Cranfield was not easily manipulated in his official position and was prepared to stand firm despite the consequences, a quality which Ingram noted was to his friend's detriment, 'I should be forward, but I observe in you a fashion, if you once set a thing, no man must alter you.'⁹⁴ However, it was his mother who appeared to hold the upper hand in their relationship. It is clear his mother was a force to be reckoned with, calling her son home from Hamburg in 1597 with the threat that if he refused she was willing to

⁹⁴ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 126.

‘withdraw her motherly love’.⁹⁵ Cranfield was spared immediate return as his master, Richard Sheppard, intervened, appealing to Martha’s love of her son by stating ‘I never did or shall love any servant as I have loved him.’⁹⁶ Six years later Cranfield was still under his mother’s control as he wrote to his cousin, Francis, that he was unable to visit him at Greenwich as he had been ‘overruled’ by his mother.⁹⁷ His first wife Elizabeth Sheppard, whom he married in 1599, was also living in the shadow of Martha Cranfield during the first years of marriage as they resided with her in her house in St. Michael Bassishaw until Cranfield bought the house in Wood Street.⁹⁸ Cranfield’s first marriage saw him follow in his father Thomas’ footsteps by marrying his master’s daughter.⁹⁹

Little information is available on Ingram’s parents, Hugh Ingram and Anne Goldthorpe, but the most important fact for this study is that Ingram’s father moved to London from Yorkshire in the middle of the sixteenth century to take up an apprenticeship with a linen draper in the City.¹⁰⁰ Rappaport has found that Yorkshire provided a large number of apprentices to the city of London in the 1550s, the time when Hugh left the north to pursue his fortunes in the metropolis.¹⁰¹ This move defined Ingram’s upbringing as he was born and raised in London where he then entered trade and became associated with the figures who were to define his career. His family ties to Yorkshire were strengthened after he secured a house there and consequently spent more time in the county. He provided financial aid to his relatives on his mother’s side who lived in York, in particular his niece Susan Goldthorpe who received at least £873 11^s 11^d from

⁹⁵ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 22.

⁹⁶ Prestwich, p. 50.

⁹⁷ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 59.

⁹⁸ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 28.

⁹⁹ Prestwich, p. 51.

¹⁰⁰ Upton, p. 1; Jewell, *The North-South Divide*, p. 67.

¹⁰¹ Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London*, Cambridge studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 77.

Ingram in the 1620s, part of which was a £600 portion for her marriage.¹⁰² Ingram was the second son of the family and his elder brother William matriculated from Cambridge as a Doctor of Divinity and subsequently became a canon of York Minster, returning to his father's county of birth like Ingram.¹⁰³ Cranfield was also the second son in his family and his elder brother Randall became master of the Mint and was knighted in July 1623.¹⁰⁴ Ingram and Cranfield, in going into trade, followed the pattern set by younger sons of gentry families, yet they ultimately fared better than their elder brothers.¹⁰⁵ Although their elder siblings' positions were very rewarding, whether spiritually or financially, neither William nor Randall made the social or political impact that their younger brothers did.¹⁰⁶

Cranfield's sister Martha, however, made a very advantageous match, not just for herself but also for Cranfield. Martha married John Suckling, secretary to the Lord Treasurer Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, in 1604, providing Cranfield with a strong familial link to the court.¹⁰⁷ Cranfield's sister-in-law, Margaret Sheppard, had also married well, wedding the Exchequer official Henry Osborne in December 1600.¹⁰⁸ Cranfield's ties to these powerful men aided his advancement, with Suckling being particularly influential. In April 1605 Cranfield noted the expenses he had laid out to

¹⁰² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/37, Mr Wade's account; Ingram also gave money to his relatives on his father's side, such as his sister-in-law Margaret Ingram, see WYL100/EA/12/21/2. However, Ingram's nephew William was sued by creditors as his uncle refused to pay a substantial sum which was owed to him after the death of his father (Ingram's brother) in 1623, see Upton, p. 177.

¹⁰³ Upton, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 435, 26 July 1623, p. 511.

¹⁰⁵ For the destinies of younger gentry sons see Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700*, p. 255.

¹⁰⁶ Randall's position as master of the mint was obviously dependent on Cranfield's good name as Randall lost his office due to Cranfield's impeachment. However, it had 'ben as gainfull a place to him for the time as to any man within our memorie,' *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 454, 3 July 1624, p. 569.

¹⁰⁷ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 181.

¹⁰⁸ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 34-5.

gain the post of the Receiver-General of Somerset and Dorset, and Suckling's role was clearly crucial, '[p]aid my brother Suckling for passing it at my Lord Treasurer's, for which given him credit, 30l.'¹⁰⁹ He also used his close relationship with Suckling to further others' causes and as a bargaining tool to save himself money, such as when he gained Wakefield Old Park for a discounted rate from Sir Richard Gargrave due to the fact Suckling had previously aided Gargrave in securing the Duchy lease of Wakefield.¹¹⁰

It was not only Cranfield's siblings' marriages that aided his advancement, as Cranfield himself secured a magnificent match for his second marriage. Anne Brett, cousin to the king's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, became Cranfield's wife on 30 December 1620. In May 1619 Nathaniel Brent had reported to Carleton that Buckingham was much in favour and that therefore 'Sir Cranfield's favour att court is now almost as little as before it was great' but believed Cranfield's favour could be restored if he were 'contented to marry a bousom yong wayting gentlewoman who hath little monie but good frends,' and this is what Cranfield did, cementing his attachment to the most powerful courtier in the country.¹¹¹ Cranfield was at first reluctant to make the match but in the end he conceded, putting aside his feelings to please his patron and his monarch, and in no lesser part helping himself in terms of social advancement and economic gain.¹¹² Chamberlain noted in January 1620 that Cranfield had been sworn into the Privy Council and that it was 'thought to proceede by reason of a match with

¹⁰⁹ Cranfield held the office from 1 April 1605 until 24 March 1614 when he sold it to Benjamin Henshaw, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 105.

¹¹⁰ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 122, 128-9, 161-2; Prestwich, p. 75.

¹¹¹ TNA, SP14/109, fol. 116.

¹¹² As a consequence of the marriage Cranfield was appointed a member of the Privy Council and allowed to retain all profits from his role as Master of the Wardrobe, Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p. 71.

somebodies kinsewoman, whereto otherwise he had noe greate fancy.’¹¹³ Lady Cranfield was very supportive of her husband and worked tirelessly to put Cranfield back in the king’s favour after his impeachment and this no doubt helped Cranfield warm to her in the later years of their marriage.¹¹⁴

Cranfield also used his new brother-in-law, Arthur Brett, to attain greater favour at court. Brett was a handsome young man and Cranfield, aware of James’ fondness for attractive young males, introduced him to the king in a move that was reminiscent of the Howards’ efforts to use William Monson as a way of capturing James’ affections.¹¹⁵ After Cranfield’s relationship with Buckingham was failing Cranfield tried to replace James’ favourite with his brother-in-law, but in ‘seeking to set up a new ydoll’ Cranfield failed and inevitably made matters worse with his former patron Buckingham.¹¹⁶

Ingram’s marriages did not match up to Cranfield’s second marriage in terms of improving his social status but he did make financially rewarding matches. Chamberlain reported Ingram’s second marriage in September 1613, claiming that widow Holyday was ‘a proper woman with 3000li’ and that ‘she had withstoode an army of wooers, and I thincke is now lighted on the worst’.¹¹⁷ In securing the hand of Alice Holyday, widow of John Holyday and daughter of William Ferrers, Ingram not only gained financially but showed his ability, much evidenced in his business pursuits, to out manoeuvre the competition, despite Chamberlain’s negative view of him. Ingram’s third marriage, to

¹¹³ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 344, 8 January 1620, p. 281.

¹¹⁴ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 455, 24 July 1624, p. 571; Letter 456, 7 August 1624, p. 574.

¹¹⁵ Prestwich, p. 219.

¹¹⁶ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 449, 10 April 1624, p. 553.

¹¹⁷ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 181, 9 September 1613, p. 476.

Mary Greville, was arranged to clear the debts of Sir Edward Greville, Mary's father, as stated in the previous chapter. Despite the fact the marriage was bound up with a business transaction there appears to have been real affection between Ingram and Mary, as discussed above.

Little is known of Ingram's first wife, Susan Browne, but it was with her that Ingram fathered his heir and namesake Arthur, around 1596. Ingram's children helped cement his social standing in Yorkshire through their marriages, and Heal and Holmes note that '[p]olitical and social alliances were usually cemented by marriage, perhaps most frequently those made within a particular locality.'¹¹⁸ Sir Arthur Ingram the younger was married, in 1622, to Eleanor Slingsby, daughter of Sir Henry Slingsby, a notable Yorkshire gentleman. Thomas, who was born in 1614, made an even better match than his older brother securing the hand of Frances Bellasis, daughter of Lord Fauconberg in 1636.¹¹⁹ However, the match may never have happened if Ingram's friend Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, had not prevented Thomas getting involved with a woman in Dublin in 1634. Wentworth 'commanded him to his chamber', and shortly after Thomas was sent home.¹²⁰ Less than two years later Thomas was married to Frances. This marriage highlights Ingram's increasing status in Yorkshire society, not only by his negotiations with Lord Fauconberg but also by the care Viscount Wentworth took of his family. In December 1619 Wentworth wrote to Ingram that he hoped Lady Ingram would have a 'jolly brave boy like the father,' showing the regard with which he held both Ingram and his family.¹²¹ The child in question could possibly have been Lionel, the 'obedient son', who died in childhood. Ingram obviously named the child after

¹¹⁸ Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700*, p. 60.

¹¹⁹ Upton, pp. 207-8.

¹²⁰ Upton, p. 225.

¹²¹ *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, p. 128.

Cranfield, who was more than likely the boy's godfather, a gesture which reveals the strength of their friendship and how much Ingram esteemed his friend.

Ingram's daughter Elizabeth also made a good match when in 1633 she married Sir Simon Bennet, a wealthy gentleman who had connections with University College, Oxford. However, Elizabeth herself was a good match as she came with a £6,000 dowry, a considerable sum which shows Ingram's improved financial status once he had established himself in Yorkshire.¹²² The attractiveness of the dowry is further confirmed when compared with Cranfield's daughters' dowries which were only £4,000 each even when he was Lord Treasurer and that was only to be 'if the King please', suggesting he was relying on royal bounty to aid his family's ascendancy.¹²³

Although Cranfield's financial status was not quite as healthy as Ingram's after his impeachment, he managed to make good matches for most of his children, with three of his daughters becoming countesses. In 1620 Cranfield's eldest daughter Martha, who was born in 1601, married Henry Carey, who was to become the Earl of Monmouth in 1639.¹²⁴ This was a good match and was achieved when Cranfield was at the height of his power. Elizabeth, Cranfield's second daughter, married Edmund Sheffield, grandson of the Earl of Mulgrave, in 1631.¹²⁵ Although Elizabeth had married into the peerage Sheffield was not financially sound or in court favour. The Earl of Mulgrave had been involved with Ingram and the alum industry and had consequently become indebted to Ingram. Ingram, therefore, acted as a broker for the marriage negotiations between

¹²² Upton, pp. 208-9.

¹²³ Prestwich, p. 383.

¹²⁴ Prestwich, p. 382; Martha's father-in-law, Sir Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, was a respected man of high social standing, serving as Master of the Household to King Charles, but his death in 1639 revealed that his status was much greater than his wealth, see Prestwich, p. 510.

¹²⁵ Prestwich, p. 493.

Mulgrave's grandson and Cranfield's daughter.¹²⁶ After the marriage Sheffield continually struggled for money as his grandfather failed to pay his maintenance, reasoning that Cranfield had not yet paid the full dowry.¹²⁷ Relations between Cranfield and his son-in-law became tense and it was only after Sheffield's grandfather launched a law-suit to try and gain the remainder of the dowry that Cranfield began to see the need to win back Sheffield's affections. The sum of £200 to his daughter and husband secured Cranfield Sheffield's backing in the court case.¹²⁸ Constantly short of money and with no official position Sheffield was far from an advantageous match. Cranfield's impeachment had limited his choices of spouses for his children and his third daughter Mary, whom Cranfield could ill afford to give a dowry of similar size to her sisters, was never married.¹²⁹ It was not uncommon for younger daughters to remain unmarried; however, as Houlbrooke notes, '[t]he increasing cost of suitable matches for non-inheriting daughters may help to explain why the proportion of women of noble birth who remained unmarried rose sharply during the seventeenth century.'¹³⁰

Cranfield's only surviving daughter from his second marriage, Frances, made the most significant match of his children. She married the heir of the Earl of Dorset, Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, in 1637, with Cranfield agreeing a dowry of £10,000 which,

¹²⁶ In 1619 Mulgrave had given Ingram the manor of Seaton as a way of re-paying the £2,000 he owed him. In the marriage negotiations it was agreed that Seaton would be returned to the Sheffields as well as £2,000 to be paid immediately, and the remainder of the money when Mulgrave had arranged the maintenance for Elizabeth, see Prestwich, pp. 512-3.

¹²⁷ Cranfield still owed £500, see Prestwich, p. 513.

¹²⁸ Prestwich, pp. 515-6.

¹²⁹ Mary died in 1635 and Cranfield spent a considerable sum on her funeral, perhaps to ease his guilt that he could not afford to provide a sufficient dowry for her, see Prestwich, p. 539.

¹³⁰ Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700*, Themes in British Social History (London: Longman, 1984), p. 84; see also, Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700*, p. 142.

not unsurprisingly, was delayed and had to be paid by his sons.¹³¹ Not only did Frances marry an earl, but because of her brothers' failure to produce a male heir Cranfield's fortune and estates descended to her eldest son, Charles Sackville, in 1674.¹³² Cranfield's eldest son James, named after his godfather, James I, had married Anne Bouchier, daughter of the Earl of Bath, and although he became the second Earl of Middlesex in 1645 he died in 1651 leaving only a daughter, Elizabeth.¹³³ James' brother Lionel became the third Earl of Middlesex in 1651 and had also married well, securing the hand of Rachel Fane, daughter of the Earl of Westmorland and widow of the Earl of Bath in 1657.¹³⁴ They had no issue and therefore the male line carrying Cranfield's name died out in 1674. However, Stone notes that 'the high infant mortality rate meant that the long-term prospects of a family's enduring in the male line were very poor.'¹³⁵ However, Ingram's grandson, Henry Ingram, not only carried on the male line of the family but was created Viscount Irwin in 1661, creating a family name of honour for Ingram's descendents.

2.3 Image

Prince Charles' remark to Cranfield that he ought to 'judge of his merchandises' was not an isolated incidence; many of Cranfield and Ingram's contemporaries described them in derogatory terms. Sir Anthony Weldon's opinion of them is clearly expressed in the title of this thesis but he went even further in his attack on Cranfield describing him as 'nothing but a pack of ignorance sodered together with impudence to raise him'.¹³⁶ But his opinion may well have been coloured by the fact that, as clerk of the green

¹³¹ James paid £6,000 in 1647 and Lionel paid the remaining £4,000 in 1652, see Prestwich, p. 542.

¹³² Prestwich, pp. 589-90.

¹³³ Prestwich, p. 381, *Cranfield Papers I*, p. x.

¹³⁴ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. x.

¹³⁵ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 590.

¹³⁶ Weldon, *The court and character of King James*, p. 131.

cloth, he was possibly a victim of Cranfield's Household reforms.¹³⁷ However, this sort of opinion was clearly held not only within household quarters but also court circles; when Cranfield aimed to be Under Treasurer, just after becoming Master of Requests, the then Lord Treasurer, Suffolk, told the King he would resign 'rather then be matcht and yoked with a prentise of London'.¹³⁸ Although Suffolk had dealt with Cranfield in the customs farms he was of established lineage and was clearly outraged that a mere merchant should even be considered for such an important position. Similarly, Northampton, who had gone as far as aiding Ingram and Cranfield's advancement at court, had spoken out in the 1590s about his contempt for newly made gentlemen and had described 'commerce as an infection.'¹³⁹ It was not only newly risen gentlemen, however, who suffered slurs on their name. Ingram and Cranfield's patrons, Cecil and Northampton, both suffered at the hands of epigram writers and Croft notes that 'satirical and denigratory comments were very much part of Elizabethan and Jacobean politico-literary culture.'¹⁴⁰ More potently, Cecil and his father, Burghley, were, like Ingram and Cranfield, also targeted for their lack of ancient lineage. Although they had been established gentry since the reign of Henry VIII, the Cecils were part of the relatively new wave of gentry that earned their titles through service to the state rather

¹³⁷ Weldon's account is also somewhat unreliable as he was known for 'distorting history', Joseph Marshall and Sean Kelsey, "Weldon, Sir Anthony (*bap.* 1583, *d.* 1648)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 2/02/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28988?docPos=1>.

¹³⁸ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 253, 23 November 1616, p. 39.

¹³⁹ Linda Levy Peck, "The Mentality of a Jacobean Grandee," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 148-168, (p. 163).

¹⁴⁰ Pauline Croft, "The Reputation of Robert Cecil: Libels, Political Opinion and Popular Awareness in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 1 (1991): 43-69. John Hoskyns, who regularly dined with Ingram and Cranfield at the Mitre tavern, was one of many writers who published epigrams in the period.

than military prowess and hereditary claims, and were consequently termed ‘goose-quilled gents’ by the second Earl of Essex’s more martial followers.¹⁴¹

In his treatise of gentility Peacham stated,

And certaine it is, that the ancient *Romans* neuer preferred any that exercised Merchandise, to any eminent place or office in their Commonwealthe perhaps agreeing in one with *Aristotle*, who speaking of Merchants and Mechanickes, saith; *Vilis est huiusmodi vita, & virtuti aduersa*, The kind of life is base, and contrary to vertue.¹⁴²

Despite the fact that Peacham glosses this comment with his own recognition that ‘euen the most remote Regions, and Common-wealths cannot stand without Trade and Commerce, buying and selling: I cannot (by the leaue of so reuerend iudgements) but account the honest Merchant among the number of Benefactors to his Countrey’, it is clear from Ingram and Cranfield’s struggle to break away from the stigma attached to their mercantile backgrounds that the revival of classical learning had brought Aristotle’s ideology firmly back into contemporary thought. Despite the pervasive nature of social mobility, parvenus such as Ingram and Cranfield had to constantly strive to present a favourable public image. Although both gentlemen attained office and wealth, they were still aware of the negative perceptions of themselves held by some of their contemporaries and this insecurity concerning their public images more than likely motivated their self-fashioning. As stated in the introduction, self-fashioning was not autonomous but regulated by institutional influence, and Ingram and Cranfield not only fashioned themselves to attain power within elite circles and entrance to court but were undoubtedly fashioned by the court itself at the same time.¹⁴³ One of the main aims of the manipulation of one’s public persona was to achieve power and prestige and

¹⁴¹ Croft, “The Reputation of Robert Cecil,” p. 47.

¹⁴² Peacham, *The compleat gentleman*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴³ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, p. 256.

once Cranfield had done this he revealed aspects of his true identity, such as situating ‘The Anwarp and London Custom-house painted’ in the hall at his Chelsea residence, suggesting that he was in fact proud of his mercantile past.¹⁴⁴ Admittedly, he had now reached his apogee as Lord Treasurer and possibly thought that his previous career could no longer tarnish what he had achieved.

After his fall from grace the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox informed Cranfield that it was his ‘curst bitter stearne fation and words that gott you so much hate’, suggesting Cranfield had not fully mastered the art of civility and failed to follow the advice of writers such as Guazzo, who believed that ‘gentle and courteous speech is the Adamant stone which draweth unto it the hearts and goodwills of all men.’¹⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that Cranfield is not recorded as owning any texts on manners and gentility, which may suggest he was unwilling to adapt his personality to achieve his ambitions, and preferred to use material props in the construction of his identity as a member of the elite rather than the adoption of genteel values.¹⁴⁶ However, other commentators suggest that Cranfield had mastered the art of rhetoric. Chamberlain reported that in the parliament of 1621 Cranfield had ‘got great commendation for divers good and honest speeches’, whereas Bacon admitted that Cranfield’s tact was ‘more indeed than I could have looked for from a man of his breeding.’¹⁴⁷ Although just because he was clear and honest, and ‘soe pragmaticall’, he was not necessarily eloquent.¹⁴⁸ In his earlier years at court it appears his temper could be easily flared, ‘yf it be true’ what Chamberlain had

¹⁴⁴ LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 58; I thank Edward Town for bringing this to my attention.

¹⁴⁵ CKS, U269/1 E46, 13 September 1624; Stefano Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*, trans. George Pettie and Bartholomew Young (1586), cited in Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁶ See below for further discussion on reading and clothes.

¹⁴⁷ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 372, 17 February 1621, p. 345; Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 50.

¹⁴⁸ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 344, 8 January 1620, p. 281.

heard. In 1618 Sir Humphrey May was granted the Chauncellorship of the Duchie of Lancaster, a position Cranfield had vied for, and Cranfield reacted badly, he 'lost his patience so far as malapertly to expostulate with his Majestie touching a promise, and his owne merits and deserts, and how he had undergone the envie both of court and citie for his service'.¹⁴⁹ Ingram's speech, whether eloquent or not, was certainly persuasive, as is evidenced in the number of deals he brokered.¹⁵⁰ Wentworth, after thanking Ingram for his part in a certain business deal, awarded him with 'the comendable and Christian stile of peace-maker'.¹⁵¹

Virtue, the characteristic which Aristotle believed was lacking from any merchant, was understood, most notably by Humanists, to be the property above all others esteemed in a true gentleman. In Brathwaite's *The English Gentleman* (1630) virtue is valued above an ancient family line of noble birth; 'Virtue the greatest signall and symbol of *Gentry*: is rather expressed by *goodnesse* of *person*, than *greatnesse* of *place*.'¹⁵² Ingram and Cranfield faced an uphill struggle in their rise to gentility as not only were they both of humble birth, many of their contemporaries found it hard to find any 'goodnesse' in their persons, as is apparent by the derogatory comments documented above. This is clearly evident in the words of Wentworth who termed Ingram 'a man of no virtue', after their disagreement.¹⁵³ When Cranfield was being considered for an earldom Lord Digby was also soon to be created but was furious that Cranfield might be created before him as he was 'a gentleman of bloud and auncient descent, that ... served the

¹⁴⁹ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 290, 16 March 1618, p. 149.

¹⁵⁰ One example is the part he played in the negotiations for Cranfield's acquisition of Copt Hall which would almost certainly have been called off if it was not for Ingram's smooth tongue, see Chapter 3, pp. 168-9.

¹⁵¹ *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, p. 135, 3 September 1620.

¹⁵² Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman*, p. 1.

¹⁵³ Cited in Upton, p. 51.

King more years than ... [Cranfield] hath don moneths'.¹⁵⁴ So for Ingram and Cranfield the combination of humble backgrounds and less than spotless characters was far from ideal when aspiring to the ranks of gentility, and it is testament to the determinations of both of them that they rose so high.

Aesthetically, they did all they could to fit in to court society, buying sumptuous clothes and even taking good care of their personal hygiene, paying to have their hair (and also their corns) cut regularly.¹⁵⁵ In terms of their dress they bought quality materials and commissioned adept London tailors to create exquisite outfits for themselves and their family. Clothes, being a 'powerful, if complex, form of communication', were an ideal way to convey one's image due to their high visibility.¹⁵⁶ Antoine de Courtin even remarked that there was 'no greater discovery of the vertue and discretion of the persons than by them [clothes].'¹⁵⁷ With eminent figures such as the Duke of Buckingham spending up to £3,000 a year on fashionable dress, it was a very competitive area of display.¹⁵⁸ Due to increasing social mobility the Acts of Apparel were impossible to enforce and therefore after the demise of sumptuary legislation in 1604 it became much easier to manipulate one's image to achieve higher status.¹⁵⁹ Harte comments that sumptuary laws were deemed particularly necessary in early modern society due to the increasing nature of social mobility, and although Elizabeth understood this, James

¹⁵⁴ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 410, 1 July 1622, p. 443.

¹⁵⁵ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 16 September 1609, 14 March 1609; AP43 [ON8156], 29 Oct 1622; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 25 October 1633, 30 January 1635, 8 February 1635.

¹⁵⁶ Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 42.

¹⁵⁷ Antoine de Courtin, *The Rules of Civility*, (1671), cited in Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 110.

¹⁵⁸ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 565.

¹⁵⁹ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 31.

failed to restrict clothing within a hierarchical framework as he wished to govern the issue himself through proclamations rather than by legislation.¹⁶⁰

Many bills attempting to reinforce government control of dress were presented to the Houses of Parliament, but there was always disagreement, and they failed to be passed. Ingram's and Cranfield's friend Christopher Brooke (who was part of the Mitre Club which is discussed below) initiated two bills, one in 1614 and one in 1621, which primarily discouraged the importation of foreign wares and advocated the use of home industries.¹⁶¹ In the Addled Parliament of 1614 Cranfield agreed with Brooke and proposed impositions on foreign cloth, yet just a few years earlier his trade in English broad cloths relied on English demand for the continental cloth he brought back from Germany. He also bought continental materials and clothes himself, despite trying to regulate the balance of trade in an official capacity. In 1608 he indulged in foreign wares for his family such as French petticoats and Spanish leather shoes, whilst towards the end of his life he paid the haberdasher, Edward Bradbourne, for foreign materials to clothe his family, in particular black Flanders bone lace.¹⁶² Ingram also purchased expensive continental dress early on in his career, and in the early 1630s was buying gowns for his wife made of black Florence satin, waistcoats and petticoats of white Persian damask, and 'black broad Italiano' for two suits.¹⁶³ Both Ingram and Cranfield bought black Naples silk, which was the most luxurious of the silks and paid import duties of 26^s 8^d a pound.¹⁶⁴ Countries closer to home also influenced fashion in England

¹⁶⁰ N. B. Harte, "State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England," in *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays presented to F. J. Fisher*, eds. D. C. Coleman and A. H. John (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976): 132-165, (pp. 139, 149).

¹⁶¹ Harte, "State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England," p. 149.

¹⁶² CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 22 February 1609, 23 July 1608; ESRO, DLW 536, 1640.

¹⁶³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/2.

¹⁶⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/2; CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 31 August 1607; Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 16.

at this time. The inventory of Cranfield's first wife, Elizabeth, taken in 1617 reveals that she owned an 'Irishe mantle', an item of clothing that was highly fashionable in the 1610s and 1620s in London, despite its associations with the 'wild' Irish who were forbidden from wearing the item of clothing by the English in the sixteenth century in a bid to 'civilize' them.¹⁶⁵ Ingram, too, was obviously keen to keep up with this trend, buying fourteen and a half ounces of gold lace in June 1616 to adorn a mantle.¹⁶⁶

At the Jacobean Court the sombre black clothes of figures such as Cecil, Northampton, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, contrasted vividly with the bright attire of the favourites Somerset and Buckingham. Ingram and Cranfield appear to have followed the style of their patrons, buying the majority of their suits in black.¹⁶⁷ They also both chose to wear black clothes when having their portraits painted, although these were embellished with silver, white and gold (Figures 2 and 3). According to Smuts, Arundel's motives for wearing sober clothes was to mark him out as a member of the old nobility and to distinguish himself from the newly favoured courtiers with no noble ancestry such as the Duke of Buckingham.¹⁶⁸ Perhaps Ingram and Cranfield were using their dress as a subtle way of aligning themselves with the old nobility to try and give an impression of 'virtue' which they could not claim from their own humble backgrounds, whilst the gold and silver detailing on their clothes showed their burgeoning wealth.

¹⁶⁵ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, "'Rugges of London and the Divell's band': Irish Mantles and Yellow Starch as Hybrid London Fashion," in *Material London ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000): 129-149.

¹⁶⁶ WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

¹⁶⁷ As well as a large selection of black materials and clothes, Ingram also bought white and chestnut coloured material. A purple doublet is also recorded, although this bright piece seems to be in the minority, see WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/2; liver and tabby coloured suits are also noted but not as often as black suits, see WYL100/EA/13/31a; CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479]; ESRO, DLW 536.

¹⁶⁸ Malcolm Smuts, "Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 99-112, (p. 109).

Black dress, often worn by older courtiers, also represented ‘stability, steadfast constancy and solemn depth’ and would help Ingram and Cranfield project an image of wisdom and reverence.¹⁶⁹

Portraiture was an ideal way of projecting image. Eminent courtiers such as Cecil and Dorset were portrayed by a ‘single face pattern’ in many of their portraits, which would re-enforce their public image whilst conveying the message that they were constant.¹⁷⁰ The disadvantage of this, albeit time saving, method was that it was harder to depict different aspects of their characters. Only one portrait survives of Ingram, but two are extant for Cranfield. As well as the full scale image by Mytens of Cranfield there survives an etching of Cranfield’s bust by Wenceslaus Hollar (Figure 4). Hollar’s drawing reveals an older man, whose face reflects the dejection Cranfield felt after his impeachment, contrasting vividly with the assured stature embodied by Cranfield in his earlier portrait. Hollar’s image has a plain background and refrains from a full display of Cranfield’s dress, signifying his more modest environment and attire after his fall from office. Ingram’s portrait includes a classical column in the background which frames the wilderness behind, evoking the loggia and grove, therefore associating him with Italian architecture and landscape. Ingram’s choice of background to his person gives the impression of a cosmopolitan figure, whilst his dress conveys a sense of tradition, both of which were esteemed properties of the early modern gentleman.

¹⁶⁹ Jane Schneider, “Fantastical Colors in Foggy London: The New Fashion Potential of the Late Sixteenth Century,” in *Material London ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000): 109-127, (p. 111).

¹⁷⁰ Susan Bracken, “Robert Cecil as Art Collector,” in *Patronage, Culture and Power, The Early Cecils*, ed. Pauline Croft (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002): 121-137, (p. 123); Edward Town, “A House ‘Re-Edified’ – Thomas Sackville and the Transformation of Knole 1605-1608,” (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 2011), p. 208.

Figure 2: Sir Arthur Ingram by George Geldorp, c. 1638-42



Figure 3: Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex, by Daniel Mytens, c.1622

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Figure 4: Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex, by Wenceslaus Hollar, mid 17C



Another very visible form of wealth was the transport one used. The possession of a coach was 'one of the clearest indications of status in a class-conscious age,' and both Cranfield and Ingram were acutely aware of this.¹⁷¹ In 1633 Ingram paid the carver Haunce 8^s 'for cutting my M^s Armes on the new coach', displaying not only his wealth at owning a coach but also his family's importance at the same time.¹⁷² Cranfield had a coach as early as 1610, when he was still a merchant, which he bought green taffeta curtains for at £1 15^s, but by the time he was Lord Treasurer he was paying for his coach furniture to be gilded at a cost of £10.¹⁷³ The actual coach cost £35 and was made by Richard Brigham.¹⁷⁴ Although this may seem expensive, Cranfield paid almost double this amount in early 1613 for a coach with a velvet bed and curtains for Northampton, who was part of the Treasury Commission at this time and a very influential figure at court.¹⁷⁵ Chamberlain noted the increasing intimacy between Cranfield and Northampton and reported that Cranfield 'is become lately in great favor with the Lord Privie Seale, and rides ordinarilie in coach with him'.¹⁷⁶ Cranfield's financial layout had paid off; he was now being noticed not only at court but also by the public as a man of repute.

2.4 Education and recreation

Neither Ingram nor Cranfield attended university or the Inns of Court, putting them at an early disadvantage for the sort of life they aspired to. Education was an important factor in the make-up of the early modern gentleman, and having a good knowledge of

¹⁷¹ Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 109.

¹⁷² WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 18 February 1633, Ingram had another new coach by 1635, for which he bought 12 yards of baize at 2^s 2^d the yard to line and cover it, see WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 22 April 1635, 23 May 1635.

¹⁷³ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 9 June 1610; U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 18 March 1623.

¹⁷⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 14 August 1623.

¹⁷⁵ Cranfield spent £62 8^s altogether on the coach in January 1613, see CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479].

¹⁷⁶ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 178, 8 July 1613, p. 463.

classics was an essential attribute in maintaining the lifestyle of the upper sorts. Ingram and Cranfield could never match the educational up-bringing of men born into gentry and noble families. Their patron Northampton had been tutored by John Foxe and the humanist Hadrianus Junius, had achieved an MA from King's College Cambridge where he also taught, and had published several learned treatises.¹⁷⁷ Cranfield was presumably comforted, then, when he read in his copy of Montaigne's essays that the author himself professed to having little education and that 'there is no scholler (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repute himselfe wiser then I'.¹⁷⁸ Christopher Wandesford advised his son to 'exercise yourself in those Studies which tend rather to the Improvement of your Manners than the Advancement of your Knowledge ... to know not only what virtue is, but how to practise it.'¹⁷⁹ There was as much emphasis on the presentation of knowledge, then, as of the acquiring of it, with Wandesford's advice clearly linking image to education.

Ingram's education is somewhat of a mystery. He presumably went to petty school, but, unlike his older brother William who went to Cambridge, he did not take any part in higher education. His calling in life appears to have been to take over his father's business as a merchant.¹⁸⁰ Cranfield also bypassed higher education, leaving St. Paul's school at the age of fifteen to become an apprentice to his future wife's father, Richard

¹⁷⁷ Croft, "Howard, Henry, earl of Northampton (1540–1614)," *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁸ CKS, U269 E198/2; Michel de Montaigne, *Essays vwritten in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne, Knight of the Order of S. Michael, gentleman of the French Kings chamber: done into English, according to the last French edition, by Iohn Florio reader of the Italian tongue vnto the Soueraigne Maiestie of Anna, Queene of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c. And one of the gentlemen of hir royall priuie chamber*, (1613), Chapter 25 of Book 1, p. 67.

¹⁷⁹ Christopher Wandesford, *A Book of Instructions written by The Right Honourable Sir Christopher Wandesforde, Knt. Lord Deputy of Ireland, First Master of the Rolls, then, one of his Lord's Justices, and Baron Mowbray of Musters; To his son and heir George Wandesforde Esq. in order to the regulating the conduct of his whole life*, (1636), ed. Thomas Comber (Cambridge, 1777), I, p. 18.

¹⁸⁰ Upton, p. 1.

Sheppard, who earned his living as a grocer and merchant.¹⁸¹ Both Ingram and Cranfield aimed for a higher education for their offspring than they themselves had enjoyed. Ingram sent his son John to a school in Goldsmith's Alley, Cripplegate, mastered by Thomas Farnaby, 'the most celebrated private schoolmaster in England during this period', at a cost of £20 per annum.¹⁸² Cranfield paid 2^s 6^d for a week's 'bord & schooling' for his first daughter Martha in August 1608 and in the following May even spent 3^s 8^d for books for his cousin Thomas Cranfield.¹⁸³ For the children of his second marriage, however, he hired a French tutor for his sons and a French governess for his daughter Frances, highlighting his rise in status and wealth.¹⁸⁴ French tutors were especially sought by members of nobility and Cranfield was following the precedent set by such eminent peers as the second Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of Cork who hired French tutors for their children.¹⁸⁵

Cranfield also clearly wished his children to be skilled in the arts, paying for his daughter Frances to have singing lessons in 1636, and over a decade earlier paying a dancing teacher £2 a month to teach his children of his first marriage.¹⁸⁶ It was important for the gentry to be knowledgeable in both the practice as well as the theory of the arts, and many aristocrats wished to tutor their descendants in these essential attributes. The northern gentry were just as aware of the importance of artistic achievement in their offspring. In August 1633 Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle paid the same price as Cranfield to employ Mr Robert Hymers to teach his

¹⁸¹ Prestwich, p. 50; *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 212.

¹⁸² Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 71.

¹⁸³ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479].

¹⁸⁴ Prestwich, p. 519.

¹⁸⁵ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 684.

¹⁸⁶ CKS, U269 A402/2; U269/1 AP43 [ON8156].

grandchildren to dance, whilst an inventory for the Fairfaxs' residence at Walton taken in 1624 recorded a base violin, singing books and an 'orpharion'.¹⁸⁷

Although both men missed out on established education themselves, their trades enabled them to see a bit of the world; Cranfield going to Stade in 1594 to trade in English broad-cloth and Italian silks, and Ingram spending time in Italy as a factor. Neither of the men took part in the 'Grand Tour', although Sir Arthur the younger clearly went to France, implying he had a greater opportunity than his father to improve his knowledge whilst on the continent.¹⁸⁸ Despite working when abroad, rather than simply soaking up the culture, Ingram and Cranfield were obviously well-educated in trade and commerce, a skill that aided their advancements at court as they had not only the business knowledge to advise both the king and government on the best policies regarding trade and customs but they also had ready money which they could loan to cash-strapped courtiers. They may not have been considered virtuous or genteel but they were useful as they understood money and how vital it was to the world of the court.

Cranfield's knowledge on the balance of trade was particularly important in gaining him access into court and government, and he was asked to make an account of the balance of trade between 1613 and 1615, mainly in response to the disastrous effects of the Cockayne project.¹⁸⁹ Alderman William Cockayne, a leading member of the Eastland Company, had persuaded James I to break the Merchant Adventurers' monopoly on the

¹⁸⁷ Rev. George Ornsby, "Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle," *Surtees Society* 68 (1878), p. 344; "Inventories made for Sir William and Sir Thomas Fairfax, Knights, of Walton and Gilling Castle, Yorkshire," ed., Edward Peacock, *Archaeologia: Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, 48 (1884): 121-156, (p. 138); an 'orphanion' is a musical instrument shaped like a lute but strung with wire, *OED*.

¹⁸⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/37.

¹⁸⁹ Astrid Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project and The Cloth Trade: The Commercial Policy of England in its Main Aspects 160-1625* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927), pp. 206-7.

exportation of unfinished cloth and agree to the exportation of cloth that had been dyed and dressed, providing employment for native workers who finished the cloth. The Merchant Adventurers were hostile to the project, resulting in the suppression of their company, whilst the Dutch, the principal buyers of unfinished cloth, reacted by barring the import of finished cloth from England.¹⁹⁰ In a list of books left at Copt Hall by Cranfield in May 1626, Edward Misselden's *Circle of Commerce* (1623), which was also known as *The Balance of Trade*, appears.¹⁹¹ Misselden, and other writers such as Thomas Mun, championed the economic gains of consumption, which they saw as aiding the prosperity of the commonwealth.¹⁹² Misselden and Mun encouraged foreign trade provided there was the correct balance between exports and imports. Cranfield and Misselden were both members of the Merchant Adventurers Company and were keen to illustrate just how ineffective Alderman Cockayne's monopoly of cloth exports had been.¹⁹³ Friis believes that it was Cranfield who provided Misselden with the information from the Exchequer to make his case against Cockayne and to publish the damaging results of the project which severely disrupted the balance of trade.¹⁹⁴

The list of Cranfield's books at Copt Hall is quite extensive, particularly considering these texts were *left* at his Essex home; presumably he would have taken the books he

¹⁹⁰ For a detailed account of the Cockayne project see Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project and The Cloth Trade*; for more information on Cockayne see Vivienne Aldous, "Cokayne, Sir William (1559/60–1626)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 21/11/2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5824?docPos=7>.

¹⁹¹ CKS, U269 E198/2.

¹⁹² Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, (1664). It has been suggested that despite the fact Mun's treatise was published in 1664 it was written between 1635 and 1640, Tawney, p. 19.

¹⁹³ For information on Misselden see Richard Grassby, "Misselden, Edward (fl. 1615–1654)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 21/11/2010, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18820>; Cranfield, along with Ingram, had also been part of a syndicate which bought the license to export un-dressed cloth free of duty from Sir Philip Herbert and Sir James Hay in 1605, see *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 118-121, Upton, p. 11, and Prestwich, pp. 60-61.

¹⁹⁴ Friis, *Alderman Cockayne's Project and The Cloth Trade*, p. 11n.

regularly consulted with him. The titles are classified by both format and subject matter, there being three large folios under the heading of ‘Histories’, twenty seven standard folios under the same subject, and twenty one regular folios in the section ‘Discourses &c. Morall, Divine, Poems.’ Thirty-one quartos are listed under no specific heading, as are twelve books in octavo or duodecimo made of vellum and leather, and finally eight texts are listed as either stitched books (quarto and octavo) or pamphlets. Judging from Francis Bacon’s statement on studies, ‘Histories make men wise; poets, witty; the mathematics, subtile; natural philosophy deep; moral grave; logic and rhetoric able to contend,’ Cranfield’s library was equipped to produce a well-rounded man.¹⁹⁵ Cranfield also purchased ‘Lo Bacon’s works’ in quarto from Simon Waterson in April 1630, when he spent £10 16^s 2^d on books.¹⁹⁶ Although Cranfield had been a major player in Bacon’s fall, by the time he bought his works, Cranfield no doubt saw only too well the great perceptiveness that Bacon showed, particularly in relation to one’s standing at court, for ‘the standing is slippery’, as both Bacon and Cranfield found out.¹⁹⁷

Cranfield’s history books included Sir Henry Savile’s translation of Tacitus’ work on the history of the Roman Empire (1591), which included the rule of Nero, who was pupil to Lucius Annaeus Seneca, whilst his discourses contained Seneca’s own works, translated by Thomas Lodge in 1614. Both of these texts were key to the tenets of the Neostoic movement, which was promoted by Justus Lipsius in late sixteenth-century Europe.¹⁹⁸ In Stuart England Neostoicism largely revolved around the court of Prince Henry, many of the leading participants having previously been associated with the

¹⁹⁵ Francis Bacon, *Of Studies*, (1625), in *Francis Bacon, The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers, Oxford World’s Classics, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 439-440, (p. 439).

¹⁹⁶ CKS, U269 A460.

¹⁹⁷ Bacon, *Of Great Place*, p. 359.

¹⁹⁸ J. H. M. Salmon, “Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England,” in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 169-188, (p. 169).

Tudor Neostoic Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. One of these was Sir William Cornwallis who published *Discourses upon Seneca the Tragedian* in 1601 and believed, as did Tacitus, that virtue was a quality confined to antiquity and was only counterfeited by men of his age, who would ‘wear her livery, though few do her service.’¹⁹⁹ Cornwallis clearly knew Cranfield as he sold furniture to him in February 1612, which Cranfield then transported to his country house at Pishiobury, but whether he considered him a virtuous man is another matter.²⁰⁰

Cranfield bought literature from various book sellers, and clearly valued not only the subject matter but also the condition of the book. He paid a Mr Parker £6 10^s for just one bible, which was to be ‘printed uppon Italian ... royall paper: double ruld with Vermillion, every chapter ruld in like manner sowed every sheete with silke, double headband of gould and silke, bound in Turkey leather ... depe gold fringe filleted within the cover and marble paper pasted thereon and a case.’²⁰¹ Such aesthetic preferences suggest Cranfield not only enjoyed reading his books but also displaying them. Indeed, books could be considered part of the furnishing of a house. At his first home in Wood Street it appears Cranfield did not have a room dedicated to the display and storage of books as his first wife kept thirteen books in her bedchamber.²⁰² Girouard notes that many gentlemen kept their books in their closets and that rooms specifically known as libraries were rare until at least the second half of the seventeenth century.²⁰³ Cranfield did have studies in many of his later houses suggesting he may have stored books in them, but other than the closet the chapel was where most books could be seen in the

¹⁹⁹ Salmon, “Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England,” pp. 175-7.

²⁰⁰ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479].

²⁰¹ CKS, U269 A460, 1643.

²⁰² CKS, U269/1 T48 [ON8788], 15 July 1617.

²⁰³ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 169.

house and that is perhaps why Cranfield spent so much money on embellishing just one bible as it would be seen, and used, by guests.²⁰⁴

The books Ingram purchased were mainly inexpensive, especially when compared to the price of the books Cranfield acquired. Between 17 April 1636 and 7 March 1637 Ingram only spent £2 16^s 3^d on books, whereas Cranfield spent £2, almost Ingram's annual spend, on just one book from Sir Benjamin Pellet in January 1623.²⁰⁵ Unfortunately Ingram's accounts, unlike Cranfield's, do not often specify the types of texts he bought, although there is one instance where the author of a book is specified. In January 1637 Ingram purchased 'taylors workes' for 5^s, which was presumably the collected works of John Taylor the water poet.²⁰⁶ Taylor had published his works in 1630, which included social commentary on many issues, including that of dress, which he believed had 'a monstrous sway in the world'.²⁰⁷ Taylor had visited both Ingram and Cranfield at their country homes, Ingram at York in 1639, and Cranfield at Copt Hall. Taylor commented that he had been well received at both houses and even penned a poem glorifying Cranfield's hospitality at his Essex residence entitled 'Copt Hall an Emblem is of Happiness', and his *Works* included a dedication of his summary of the chronicles to Lionel Cranfield.²⁰⁸ One of Cranfield's other country residences also received the attention of a poet, with his nephew Sir John Suckling musing on Wiston.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 166.

²⁰⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156].

²⁰⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

²⁰⁷ Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet, 1578-1653* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 3.

²⁰⁸ Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, p. 46. See Chapter 6, p. 360.

²⁰⁹ See Chapter 7, p. 409.

Cranfield himself was also to try the art of poetry in his friend Thomas Coryate's work *Coryate's Crudities*, which was published in 1611 and recorded Coryate's travels through France, Italy and Switzerland. The metaphor Cranfield used to describe Coryate's text accentuates the importance of his merchant days to his overall perspective on life;

Me thinks when on his booke I cast my eies,
I see a shop repleate with merchandize,
And how the owner jelous of his fame,
with pretious matter garnisheth the same.²¹⁰

Cranfield's poetry is not quite up to the standard of his nephew's, with lines such as 'How much I him well wish let this suffice, / His booke best shewes that he is deeply wise' revealing that he did not have a natural way with words.²¹¹ Despite the evidently awkward disjointed verses compiled for Coryate by Cranfield, and many others such as Sir John Suckling's father, Taylor remarked that these panegyric verses were of a higher standard than Coryate's own words.²¹² In *Laugh and be Fat: or, a Commentary upon the Odcombian Banket* Taylor 'paraphrased the 'complimentary' verses to lay bare their often mocking and ironic intent...', in terms of Cranfield's verse picking up on his use of iron memory.²¹³ Cranfield praised Coryate's strong memory which aided the recounting of his travels, whereas Taylor notes the potential for iron to rust, 'For cankerd rust I know will yron fret, / And make the wit and memorie forget.'²¹⁴ Taylor had more than one literary quarrel with Coryate, which seemed to stem from Taylor's

²¹⁰ Thomas Coryate, *Coryats crudities hastily gobbled vp in five moneths trauells in France, Sauoy, Italy, Rhetia co[m]monly called the Grisons country, Heluetia aliàs Switzerland, some parts of high Germany, and the Netherlands; newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the county of Somerset, & now dispersed to the nourishment of the trauelling members of this kingdome*, (1611), p. 47.

²¹¹ Coryate, *Coryats crudities*, p. 47.

²¹² Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, p. 13.

²¹³ Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, p. 13.

²¹⁴ John Taylor, *Laugh and be Fat: or, a Commentary upon the Odcombian Banket*, (1612), p. 24.

envy of Coryate's fame and court connections.²¹⁵ Coryate not only enjoyed the company of courtiers but was at one time servant to Prince Henry and therefore socialised in the most elite circles.²¹⁶

Coryate also frequented the Mitre tavern and was part of a circle of wits called the 'Mitre club', of which Cranfield and Ingram were members.²¹⁷ The Mitre was, according to Coryate, 'the place decreed, / For witty jests and cleanly feed, / The betterest of any,' and he composed poems describing the individual figures who were part of this privileged dining club.²¹⁸ Cranfield and Ingram were described alongside Christopher Brooke and John Donne:

There will come, through scarcely current,
Christopherus surnamed Torrent,
And John ycleped Made,
And Arthur Meadow-pigmies'-foe,
To sup, his dinner will foregoe,
Will come as soon as bade.²¹⁹

One of the 'geniuses' of the Mitre Club was Inigo Jones, who was shortly to become the court architect and went on to orchestrate Cranfield's rebuilding at Chelsea. Cranfield, then, had known him for some time in a social capacity, conversing and drinking with him, and even buying him 6^d of tobacco in January 1613, before he established a

²¹⁵ Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, p. 13.

²¹⁶ Katharine A. Craik, "Reading 'Coryats Crudities' (1611)," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 44:1 The English Renaissance, (Winter 2004): 77-96, (p. 78.)

²¹⁷ Along with Ingram and Cranfield there were twelve other members of the circle of wits: Christopher Brooke, John Donne, Richard Martin, John Hoskyns, Hugh Holland, Sir Robert Phelps, Sir Henry Goodere, Richard Connock, Thomas Coryate, Henry Neville, Inigo Jones and John West. Cranfield was willing to help his friends by using his influence at court and gained Richard Martin the position of Recorder of London in 1617 although he died soon after taking up his post, see *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 300, 14 October 1618, p. 170 and Letter 304, 14 November 1618, pp. 182-3, and Prestwich, p. 255.

²¹⁸ TNA, SP14/66, fol. 2^r, 2 September 1611, original in Latin, see Prestwich, p. 94, for English translation.

²¹⁹ TNA, SP14/66, fol. 2^r, 2 September 1611, original in Latin, see Prestwich, p. 94, for English translation.

professional relationship with the architect.²²⁰ Ingram also bought Jones gifts, such as a hogshead of claret wine which he sent him in April 1616 at a cost of £4.²²¹ As part of the Mitre Club, Ingram and Cranfield were well connected in all areas of society. Not only could they draw on the artistic influences of Donne and Jones, they had an insight into the court of Prince Henry through Richard Connock and Coryate, members of his household, and the legal brains of Christopher Brooke, John Hoskyns and Richard Martin were also at their disposal, signifying how important social networks could be in aiding political ascendance. The other popular dining club in London at this time was the Mermaid club, where some of the Mitre club, such as Donne and Jones, joined other talented gentleman including Ben Jonson. In 1601 Cranfield made a note that he had paid for Thomas Billingsley's supper at the Mermaid tavern, so he obviously frequented the pub in his early days as a merchant, although there is nothing to suggest he socialised there in later years when the Mermaid club was present.²²² It is likely, however, that even if Cranfield, and indeed Ingram, did not know Jonson personally, their shared acquaintances would have enlightened each party to the characters of the other.²²³

Entertaining could be a useful way of doing business, especially if you knew a man's weakness. When Cranfield was in the process of securing property at Wakefield from Peter Frobisher, his steward Hume Burdett, who was well acquainted with Frobisher, advised Cranfield that if he was to 'bidd him to dynner and supper often and a pipe of Tobacco you may prevaile mutche.'²²⁴ Cranfield also bought tobacco and pipes for

²²⁰ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 23 January 1613.

²²¹ Ingram also sent a hogshead each to Mr Martin, presumably Richard Martin also of the Mitre Club, and Mr 'Warder', presumably Sir Edward Wardour, see WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

²²² *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 38.

²²³ Prestwich, p. 98.

²²⁴ CKS, U269/1 T33[ON1038], 26 November 1609.

Effingham when he entertained him at his house on 1 March 1609.²²⁵ Effingham had sold two annuities of the wine license to Ingram which Cranfield had bought from him in April 1608 which he in turn sold on to make a great profit, so perhaps Cranfield saw the hospitality he offered Effingham as a kind of repayment.²²⁶ Ingram also regularly bought his exalted guests tobacco, particularly Lord Cottington, who as Chancellor of the Exchequer could be very useful for Ingram, and took his side in his fall out with Wentworth.²²⁷

Lord Cottington indulged in the much criticised recreation of gambling with Ingram, playing cards with him at his home in Dean's Yard. These recreational games could improve and consolidate one's social networks and Sir Arthur played cards and tables with many different acquaintances, including some of his neighbours in Dean's Yard such as Mr Ireland and Sir Robert Pye, family members such as Sir Edward Greville, and business and political associates such as Mr Howell, Sir Edward Wardour, Sir Thomas Littleton, Mr Ruddall, Sir Thomas Danbye, Lord Dungarven, Sir William Saville, Mr Harrison, Mr Apsley, Mr Harman, and Sir Robert Winde.²²⁸ On average he spent £1 a session, though on occasion this might be as much as £5.²²⁹ Cranfield also gambled and wagered similar amounts to Ingram, which exemplifies their shrewd business sense when compared to the amounts many courtiers bet.²³⁰ For example, Sir Robert Cecil lost over £800 in one night in 1603.²³¹ However, Cecil had been playing at Whitehall where significantly larger sums were in play which highlights the constant

²²⁵ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479].

²²⁶ Prestwich, p. 62.

²²⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 16 May 1636, 14 July 1636, 6 February 1637; Upton, p. 229.

²²⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

²²⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, he spent £5 on 1 November 1633.

²³⁰ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 1 December 1622 Cranfield spent 60^s on cards, 25 December 1622 40^s was spent.

²³¹ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 570.

need to display one's wealth at court. On New Year's Day 1623 Cranfield himself spent £200 on playing dice at Whitehall, a stake more in line with the position of Lord Treasurer when engaging in games with the king and other courtiers, an amount that obviously could not be bet on every game played in one's free time with friends.²³² Bowls was another sport which could become a bit more interesting with the input of money and, like card games, high stakes could be bet. Suffolk's son, Theophilus, reportedly lost £2,000 on just two games of bowls in 1623.²³³ Ingram and Cranfield bet much smaller sums and more than likely played on their own greens.²³⁴ Recreational pursuits, then, were a good way of consolidating friendships and strengthening political alliances.

Conclusions

Ingram and Cranfield's relationship, although turbulent, fostered their social mobility as they used the patronage networks they had both cultivated to aid each others advancement. In their early years as merchants Cranfield supplied the capital and Ingram the contacts at court, whilst after Ingram's failed attempt at attaining high public office he looked to Cranfield for political influence, who had now acquired great power. The ambitious nature of both men and their similar characteristics inevitably led to clashes of will, especially later in life when each had little need of the other for advancement. Both men used their families not only as a source of love and support but also as a means of social advancement, particularly their children who could help them maintain their status after they had failed at court.

²³² CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156].

²³³ Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 284.

²³⁴ Ingram bet between 10^s and £2 per match, see WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18, August 1632; Cranfield's bets were around 3^s a match, see *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 40. Bowling greens were a requisite part of many elite gardens, see Chapter 7, p. 392.

This chapter has analysed the way Ingram and Cranfield projected their image through the construct of the self. The outline of their careers is contextualised by the way they achieved their ambitions through their portrayal of characteristics deemed appropriate to members of the elite, but also by their rejection from court implying their methods of self-fashioning were flawed. They broadened their knowledge by acquiring books on various subject matters, displayed their wealth by dressing in sumptuous and ‘fashionable’ clothes and riding in grand coaches, and used entertainment and recreational pursuits as a way of establishing fruitful social networks. Bryson notes that, ‘we need to get to grips with the concepts, values, and codes of conduct which underpinned the power and authority of the elite in early modern England. In other words, we need to understand what an aristocratic social order means, culturally and not only in some rather narrow sense of the word, politically.’²³⁵ This chapter comes some way to achieving Bryson’s aim by revealing Ingram and Cranfield’s place in a *cultural* ‘aristocratic social order’ which they aspired to attain by following prescribed codes of behaviour and adopting values which identified them with elite members of society.

Now the characters of the men have been established through an examination of their demeanour and values it is time to focus on the houses they built and occupied and how their homes can further reveal aspects of their identities. As Roger North stated in the late seventeenth century, ‘I can show you a man’s character in his house.’²³⁶

²³⁵ Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 23.

²³⁶ Cited in Nicholas Cooper, *The Houses of the Gentry, 1480-1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 14.

The houses: location, history and modifications

Architecture was an important tool to project one's image in early seventeenth century society, and the practice has been commented on by countless historians, most notably by Paul Hunneyball in his aptly titled study *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*. Hunneyball neatly sums up the process by stating that 'architectural style is not about buildings, but about people.'¹ He also states that, in Hertfordshire, it was newcomers, rather than the established gentry, who were carrying out the most building projects, probably due to 'a desire for integration within the local elite.'² Indeed, it was parvenus who needed to prove their status by indulging in one of the clearest forms of conspicuous consumption of the day. Ingram and Cranfield, as 'gentlemen of the first head', used architecture as a means to display their wealth and vindicate their newly established positions within society.³

A great deal of the building in early Stuart England was carried out by 'new men with fortunes accumulated in trade, finance, politics, or the law.'⁴ Baptist Hicks was one of these 'new men', who made his money trading as a mercer and supplying not only silks to King James but also large loans, and used £44,000 of his new found wealth to build and furnish a manor house at Chipping Campden.⁵ Sir John Harrison was another

¹ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p 19.

² Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 14.

³ Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 28.

⁴ Stone & Stone, *An Open Elite?*, p. 252.

⁵ Paul Everson, "The Gardens of Campden House, Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire," *Garden History* 17:2 (Autumn, 1989): 109-121, (pp. 110-111). Cranfield had secured one of Hicks' loans to the king in his first year as Lord Treasurer. Hicks, along with William Cockayne and Peter Van Lore, advanced £30,000 to the crown, see Prestwich, p. 339. Cranfield was involved in a law suit with Hicks over the rectory of Campden, which he had bought from

recently elevated man, building Balls Park in Hertfordshire between 1638 and 1640 with the profits from customs farming. He secured the services of Nicholas Stone to design the symmetrical house which reflected his merchant background in its ‘artisan mannerist’ style.⁶ Ingram and Cranfield, then, were in good company in their building pursuits which were financed through their gains as customs farmers.

Although many newly risen gentlemen were building to consolidate their new social stature certain members of the established gentry used architecture as a way of maintaining their position. The Howards are a prime example, building at Audley End, Greenwich, and Arundel House, to display their power and prestige.⁷ This undoubtedly bred the competitive atmosphere surrounding house building, as noted by Sir Henry Slingsby, Ingram’s son’s brother-in-law, who commented:

Let a man propose to himself never so great matters, yet shall another come y^t may exceed him & go beyond him: if he build his house like Nebuchodonoser y^t he may say, is not this great Babell y^t I have built? If another y^t shall exceed him come, he shall think all y^t vain w^{ch} he hath done or made: as y^t w^{ch} cannot be paralel’d, if another come y^t doth excell it while he glories in it, it at last fails him of his end & doth become vain unto him. *Id perfectum cui nihil addi potest*; w^{ch} no finite thing can attain to, but is of y^t condition to receive some addition to w^t it hath.⁸

However, grand building did not always project a favourable public image, as the words of Sir William Wentworth reveal. He warned his son, Thomas, to ‘[t]ake hede of superfluitie in Building, for that is a monument of a gentleman that wanted discretion

the crown. Hicks believed he had a prior claim to the land and consequently various disputes followed, which resulted in Cranfield selling Campden in 1612, see Prestwich, p. 79. Ingram had also dealt with Hicks over land, one example being the acquisition of the Manor of Little Monden in 1621 with Hicks and various other associates, see, *Journal of the House of Commons 1: 1547-1629* (1802), pp. 653-655, British History Online, accessed, 15/09/2011, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=6371&strquery=ingram>.

⁶ For a discussion of the term ‘artisan mannerism’ see the following chapter. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, pp. 80-81, 91-93.

⁷ For the building by established gentlemen in Yorkshire see, Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 103.

⁸ Sir Henry Slingsby, *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, ed. Daniel Parsons (London: Longman, 1836), p. 52.

and iudgement.’⁹ Certainly, the excessive amounts of money some gentlemen spent on their building pursuits showed little judgement, leaving them in debt and sometimes causing the ruin of the family.¹⁰

Although Ingram and Cranfield’s building pursuits were extensive they did not lead to great financial difficulties. As noted in the Introduction, Ingram and Cranfield not only bought houses for their own use, but also purchased buildings as business investments and this no doubt helped overcome economic hardship. As well as privately acquiring and subletting houses, they both made significant gains through their role in the sale of Crown lands.¹¹ Despite Ingram and Cranfield’s similar approach to property in business terms, the way they acquired and occupied their own homes was significantly different. Cranfield was constantly moving on to different and more magnificent properties as his power and prestige at court rose. His humble town house on Wood Street was replaced by his elaborate suburban home in the fashionable area of Chelsea. His first country seat at Pishiobury in Hertfordshire soon became too small to meet his needs now that he was Lord Treasurer, so he upgraded to Copt Hall in Essex, a much more impressive abode. As a London merchant who had risen through society, rather than being born to an established gentry family, Cranfield had no ancestral roots tying him to a particular county or region and was therefore able to move throughout the country whilst keeping a base in London. Hunneyball has noted that Hertfordshire, in particular, had a largely transitory social elite with many gentlemen remaining mobile.¹²

⁹ *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, p. 14.

¹⁰ Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 554.

¹¹ For private subletting see Upton, p. 44, WYASL, WYL100/LO/Stratford-le-Bowe, *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 45, 1601; p. 53, 28 November 1602. For the sale of Crown lands see Chapter 1, p. 25, note 28.

¹² Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 13.

Ingram had already abandoned any hopes of attaining high office at court when he began to increase his property portfolio in Yorkshire. Although he was not born in the county he had strong family ties to the region, as stated in the previous chapter. Ingram divided his time between his house in York and his residence in Dean's Yard, Westminster, spending the law terms in London, and the remainder of the time in York. Ingram's country estates were occupied by his sons; he established his eldest son, Arthur, at Temple Newsam, and his younger son, Thomas, at Sheriff Hutton. Ingram resided, then, for the most part in the house he first acquired at York and did not move to successively grander properties as Cranfield did, which illustrates the different roles the men were playing in society at this time, Ingram as part of the local gentry and Cranfield as part of the national political elite.

The land exchange between Ingram and Cranfield in 1622 consolidated Cranfield's estates in the south of England and Ingram's in the north. The exchange is significant as it suggests that Ingram preferred houses in the north whilst Cranfield inclined towards southern houses. According to Goodman, a close confidante of Cranfield, his reason for the trade was 'that if there were any stirs of war in the kingdom, certainly Yorkshire would suffer most, and the heart of the kingdom would escape best....'¹³ Goodman wrote his memoirs in the 1640s indicating that the 'stirs of war' that Cranfield anticipated were the Civil Wars between the king and Parliament. It is ironic that Cranfield thought his houses would be less likely to be damaged by being further south as his house at Milcote in Warwickshire, which he acquired through the exchange, was burned to the ground by the Parliamentarians; whereas Ingram's northern properties

¹³ Goodman, I, pp. 319-320.

remained intact.¹⁴ Cranfield's belief that less damage would occur in southern parts of England suggests that the idea of the 'barbarous north' was still alive in contemporary society despite the reduced warfare in the northern parts after the Union of the Crowns in 1603.

The exchange is extremely complex and as Prestwich notes 'in the hands of Middlesex and Ingram became extraordinarily torturous.'¹⁵ Both men were skilled in financial exploitation, yet both had a suspicious tendency to believe they were being deceived. Ingram, who had been allowed £10,000 by Cranfield for clearing encumbrances, had cleared them for much less which understandably vexed Cranfield. Cranfield also claimed he had been duped by Ingram as to the real value of the Greville lands. In the end, Ingram had to settle the deal by paying Cranfield £4,000. However, it was not just Cranfield who felt hard done by, Ingram, himself, also had misgivings about the exchange, finding that the tenants at Wakefield Old Park were unwilling to renew their leases, when he had been led to believe that they were prepared to pay higher rents. By the 8 August 1624 Ingram had written to Edward Greville wishing that he 'had never made the exchange'.¹⁶ It was almost inevitable that the exchange would cause recriminations between the two due to their ability to manipulate transactions to suit their own ends.

Cranfield, the remodeller, tended to buy the space he needed by moving on to larger and grander properties as his income and status increased, whereas Ingram, the rebuilder, created the space he needed through extensive reconstruction of older buildings, after

¹⁴ CKS, U269 E228/9.

¹⁵ Prestwich, p. 403.

¹⁶ CKS, U269/1 E210.

his retirement from court. Remodelling was more common than building in this period and in seventeenth-century Hertfordshire, where Cranfield's first country estate stood, Hunneyball states that 'partial improvements to a property were the rule rather than the exception.'¹⁷ Cranfield's aversion to 'building' houses is explained by Goodman, 'he could never endure to build houses, they were so chargeable and there was so much deceit in the workmen.'¹⁸ Although Cranfield still suffered at the hands of deceitful workmen his decision to re-model rather than build his homes certainly saved him great expense.¹⁹

Cost was a serious consideration in building, exemplified by the fact Cecil and Suffolk both died with debts despite their large incomes.²⁰ Between 1608 and 1612 Cecil spent on average £13,500 a year on building, which was the greatest area of expense in his disbursements, whilst one of the Prince of Wirtemberg's entourage reported in 1610 that the building of Audley End had already cost Suffolk £100,000.²¹ It was to Ingram and Cranfield's advantage that great men such as Cecil and Suffolk spent lavishly on building as their unruly expenditure caused them to seek loans from Ingram and Cranfield.²² Cranfield's greatest income, when he was Lord Treasurer, was between £25,000 and £28,000, not as great as Cecil's had been but Cranfield was wiser with his

¹⁷ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 104.

¹⁸ Goodman, I, p. 304.

¹⁹ See Chapter 5 for issues involving workmen.

²⁰ Cecil's income was roughly £49,660 per annum between 1608 and 1612, yet he died in 1612 with debts of £47,317, see Stone, *Family & Fortune*, pp. 25, 59.

²¹ Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 61; P. J. Drury, "No other place in the kingdom will compare with it: the evolution of Audley End, 1605-1745," *Architectural History* 23 (1980): 1-171, (p. 3).

²² As well as providing loans themselves Ingram and Cranfield also used their contacts at court to secure funds for other builders. In 1616 Ingram was solicited by Edmund Sheffield, Lord President of the Council of the North, to persuade the Lord Treasurer, then Suffolk, to grant him another thousand pounds for building work at the King's Manor, *Various VIII*, p. 10. Ingram succeeded in acquiring the money for Sheffield, see K. J. Allinson, "The King's Manor" in *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*, ed., P. M. Tillott, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (London, 1961): 529-531, (p. 530).

money, buying houses that did not need substantial re-modelling.²³ Ingram's income at his death consisted of £9657 3^s 11^d a year in land, and he was clearly earning near to that figure in the 1630s as Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the Queen of Bohemia that Ingram was being considered for the position of Chancellor of the Exchequer as 'he who could make 9,000l. a year of nothing may more easily multiply it by hundreds for the King'.²⁴ Ingram and Cranfield, then, did not have the large funds that figures such as Cecil and Suffolk could invest in their building programmes but their incomes were more than adequate to create great homes. Sir Roger Townshend only had an income of £2,500 a year between 1618 and 1637 yet he managed to build Raynham Hall, a house noted for its architectural merit.²⁵

This chapter will now briefly discuss Ingram and Cranfield's houses individually, documenting the modifications the men made to each of their homes in preparation for an analysis of the style and lay-out of the buildings which will be the subject of the following chapter.

3.1 Sir Arthur Ingram's houses

i) *York Palace, York Minster grounds* (O.S. Map ref. SE6032352192)

Sir Arthur Ingram acquired his first house in Yorkshire in 1613, which was in close proximity to the office he used as Secretary to the Council of the North. The house was situated on Precentor's Lane opposite the west end of York Minster, previously used by the prebendary of South Cave and owned by the dean and chapter of York Minster,

²³ For Cranfield's income see Prestwich, p. 420.

²⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/5; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I, 1635*, ed. John Bruce, (London: Longman, 1865), vol. 291, no. 30, p. 138, 23 June 1635. Ingram's landed estate was significant when compared to figures such as Northampton who, although he was worth roughly £80,000 at his death, only had lands worth £3,000 a year, see Croft, "Howard, Henry, earl of Northampton (1540–1614)," *ODNB*.

²⁵ Campbell, "Raynham Hall," p. 54.

(Map 4). When it was in the possession of Thomas Knivett an inventory was taken of the ‘parcels of sealing’ within the house, which as well as noting the wainscoting and door frames also listed room names. The house was clearly of a substantial size even before Ingram’s development, including at least fifteen rooms, with the requisite great chamber, dining chamber, gallery and lodging chambers.²⁶ After Knivett’s lease expired five years later Suffolk took over possession of the building. It was from Suffolk that Ingram acquired the lease in February 1613.²⁷ In 1616 Ingram, along with his brother William, was appointed as a warden of the Archbishop’s Palace and prison in York, of which he later acquired the lease. The indenture between Archbishop Tobias Matthew and Ingram in October 1619 described the palace as ‘utterlie ruinous, vast and decayed, little or noe appearance or show thereof remayning but onelie one old prison and some ruinous walles of the said pallace standing, and the rest of the structure and buildings thereof buried in the earth’, suggesting Ingram was more concerned with the location than the building itself.²⁸ Ingram had already made some improvements to the palace before this indenture was drawn up, making the palace ‘decent, good and profitable.’²⁹ His investment is highlighted in the document as the word ‘great’ is inserted before cost in the sentence ‘att his owne costs and charges.’³⁰ The yearly rent was set at £3 6^s 8^d and the lease was for the term of three lives.³¹

Ingram remodelled the palace and the house he acquired from Suffolk before erecting a new building which joined the two together to create an expansive space. This new

²⁶ WYASL, WYL178/12, inventory dated 1591.

²⁷ Butler, “York Palace, a vanished Jacobean mansion,” p. 27.

²⁸ WYASL, WYL100/YO/A/9.

²⁹ WYASL, WYL100/YO/A/9.

³⁰ WYASL, WYL100/YO/A/9.

³¹ WYASL, WYL100/YO/A/9; WYL100/YO/A/13.

edifice was contracted in September 1623, whereby the carpenter John Williamson agreed to

make and laie with Tymber Joice & boards, Three flores, adioyninge to his howse in York conteyninge in length fortie & foure foote (that is to saie) One ground flore, one midle flore, to be double ioisted, and the rooffe to be with one rowe of single joice; Three Particons, One Lobby att thend of the said worke, with a convenient rooffe over the same. And likewise to raise the other part of the old rooffe answerable to the rest of his said howse.³²

The main entrance to the palace was contained in this new building and probably significant rooms such as the great chamber and the hall.³³ The older buildings were obviously adapted to blend in with the new structure, with the old roof being raised to the same height as the new roof. The roof was ‘all up’ by 19 November with the lead to be laid ‘presently’ and the ‘tiling with all speed to close in.’³⁴ George Richardson was paid for a chaldron of lime which was used for fretting a chamber in the new building and for the cant window, presumably the one shown in Figure 5.³⁵

Figure 5: South-east view of the Archbishop's Palace, E. Abbot, 1776



³² WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I.

³³ Butler, “York Palace, a Vanished Jacobean Mansion,” p. 29.

³⁴ WYASL, WYL100/C/2, 366, 19 November 1623.

³⁵ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 14 April 1625.

Work carried out before 1623 can help discern which rooms were situated in which parts of the house. In December 1622 Ingram ordered the carpenters to wainscot his wife's study and the chapel, placing these rooms in the original buildings he purchased, as the new building had yet to be constructed.³⁶ Windows were also repaired in the old buildings; John Fawcett, the blacksmith, received 27^s for making '[i]ron barrs for the windowes in the new Roomes' in May 1622, whilst Dutch glass was sent to York from London in the autumn of the same year.³⁷ This suggests new spaces were created within the old building and were embellished before work began on the new building. In May 1629 a tiler and a carpenter were paid for 'pulling downe kitchin'.³⁸ Presumably the kitchen was contained in the older house, not the new addition constructed only a few years earlier, suggesting that Ingram may have continued updating the rooms in the older portion of his home over the years.

There are many references to building work being carried out in the 1629 account of John Baker, steward at York, and they presumably refer to the 'new intended building' mentioned by Baker in a letter to John Matteson, Ingram's steward at Armin then York, dated 30 January 1629.³⁹ In February 1629 five and a half feet of new glass was installed in 'the new buildinge', but this would be very quick for an 'intended' building to be built and receiving finishing touches such as window glass only a month later.⁴⁰ A new brew house is recorded by Baker in May 1629, which may have more than likely been the new intended building in completion. However, also in May 1629 the carpenter was paid for 'making new walls, from ye topp to ye bottom, where ye old gallerie

³⁶ WYASL, WYL178/4, 10 December 1622.

³⁷ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I; WYL178/4, 14 October 1622.

³⁸ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I.

³⁹ WYASL, WYL178/5, 30 January 1629.

⁴⁰ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I.

chimney stood' indicating that a new gallery may recently have been constructed.⁴¹ A 'newe gallorie' was mentioned two years later in John Matteson's accounts, suggesting Ingram wished to create a more impressive gallery than the old one.⁴² Girouard has observed that 'galleries were used as pieces in the power game' and Ingram would be able to show off his gallery when he had eminent guests visiting.⁴³ At the same time it is clear a new banqueting house was being constructed.⁴⁴ This new banqueting house was evidently replacing an old one as Ingram referred to 'the solemn promise you made in the Banquet House at York' in a letter to Matteson dated 2 February 1628, four years before construction had started.⁴⁵ A new portal and new stables were also mentioned in Matteson's 1632 account, highlighting the intensity of Ingram's building campaign.⁴⁶

Several images of York Palace from the late eighteenth, early nineteenth century survive, and show a dilapidated cluster of buildings. Although they do not show the resplendent house of Ingram's time, they are useful in revealing the exact location of Ingram's house and the plan of the building(s). The earliest of the images (Figures 5-7) are three watercolours ascribed to E. Abbot and J. Beckwith, composed between 1774 and 1776. The house appears in a ruinous state with the rafters free to the open air, and the middle section of the house fallen down, a consequence of the Ingram family removing to Temple Newsam and dividing the house into tenements which they then leased out.⁴⁷ The central section of the house with the semi-circular bay window is clearly identifiable on a plan of the residence from 1782 (Figure 8). It seems likely the window was built in 1632 as accounts record the carriage of stones from Temple

⁴¹ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/L.

⁴² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18, 18 July 1632.

⁴³ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 102.

⁴⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/16; WYL100/EA/13/18.

⁴⁵ WYASL, WYL178/5, for further detail on the banqueting house see Chapter 7, pp. 413-4.

⁴⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/16.

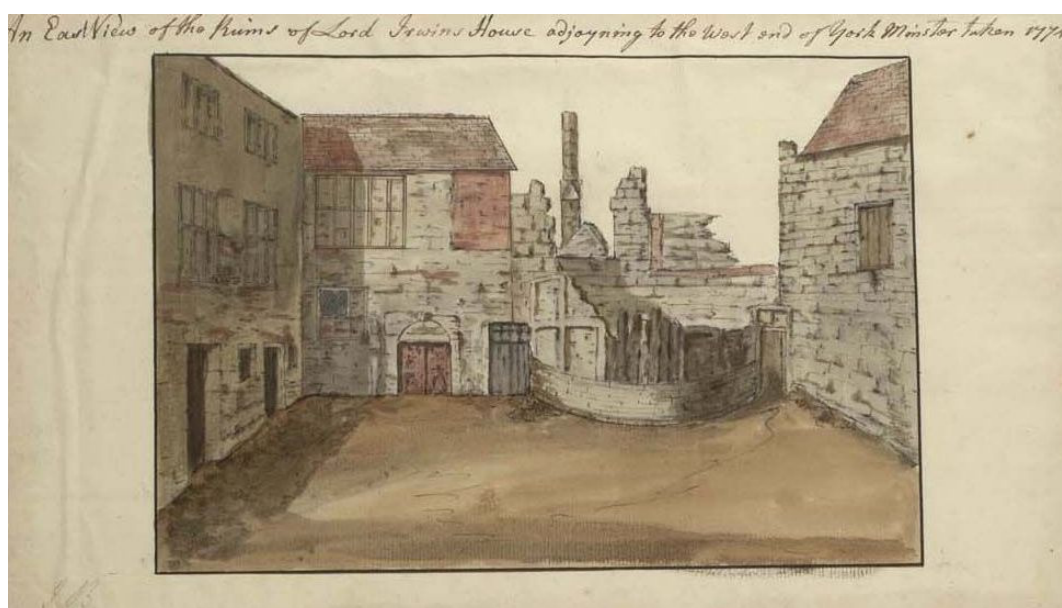
⁴⁷ Butler, "York Palace, a Vanished Jacobean Mansion," p. 31.

Newsam for ‘the round window’.⁴⁸ The window looked onto a small courtyard which was entered from the other side from the Minster Yard. The combination of buildings at York led to an unusual plan, which shall be discussed in Chapter 4.

Figure 6: North-east view of the Archbishop’s Palace, J. Beckwith, 1776

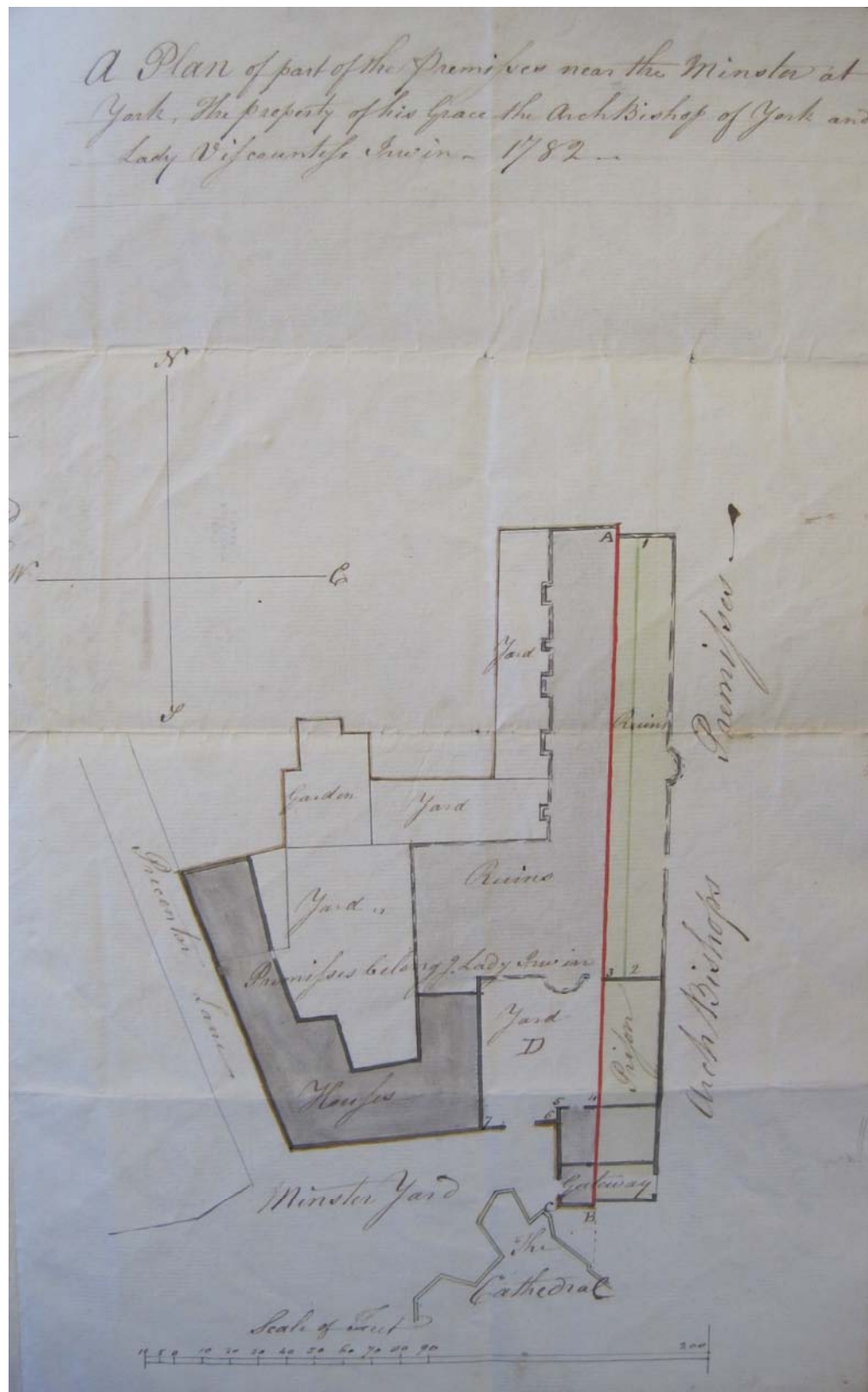


Figure 7: East view of the ruins of Lord Irwin’s house, J. Beckwith, 1774



⁴⁸ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, March 1632.

Figure 8: Plan of Lady Irwin's house, 1782



Ingram's house in York, then, was composed of an old residential building, an early twelfth century ecclesiastical edifice and a new structure that joined the two. Major work was clearly carried out in 1623 when the new connecting building was under construction, but work appears to have been almost continual from the purchase of the Archbishop's Palace in 1619 (when Sir Arthur had already made some improvements) until the late 1630s. However the building was clearly habitable during this lengthy period due to various sections being completed at different times. Ingram's house was demolished in 1817 but part of the Archbishop's Palace, the chapel, still survives and is today used as the Minster Library. An arcaded wall (Figure 9) can still be seen in Dean's Park on the path leading to the Minster Library, which no doubt originally joined the chapel to the rest of the palace, and its survival is due to Ingram's reclamation, using it within his garden walls.⁴⁹ It is unfortunate that this wall is the only glimpse of what was clearly a magnificent house.

Figure 9: Ruins of an arcaded wall from Ingram's garden, Dean's Park



⁴⁹ Butler, "Notes on the Minster Close at York," p. 13.

ii) *New Lodge, Sheriff Hutton* (O.S. Map ref. SE6613965580)

Ingram's first country home was situated in the village of Sheriff Hutton, 10 miles north-east of York, which was part of the royal hunting reserve, the Forest of Galtres (Figure 10). Ingram was granted the office of keeper of Sheriff Hutton Park by James I in January 1615, and he began work on his house, New Lodge, between 1617 and 1619.⁵⁰ Documents relating to proposed alterations to the neighbouring Sheriff Hutton Castle help to be more precise in the dating of Ingram's construction of New Lodge. A letter dated 2 October 1618 from Barnard Dinninckhoff (a German glass-painter and glazier based in York) to Thomas Lumsden (steward of Sheriff Hutton Castle), which accompanied three plans Dinninckhoff composed of proposed alterations to the castle gatehouse, can be used as evidence that the New Lodge was already standing in 1618.⁵¹ Dinninckhoff signed off with 'and so I rest at the new lodge in Sheriff Hutton.' This indicates that Ingram's New Lodge was built (or at least in construction) when Dinninckhoff wrote this letter in 1618 and would contradict earlier suggestions that construction of Ingram's New Lodge did not start until 1619.⁵² Another document which supports the idea that Ingram had a residence in Sheriff Hutton Park in 1618 is a receipt dated 12 November 1618 which recorded payment of £6 to Dinninckhoff 'for the glayssinge of S^r Arthure Ingram house at Sherifhutton.'⁵³ Whether this house was the New Lodge or an older structure is debatable.

⁵⁰ TNA, SO 3/6.

⁵¹ WYASL, the letter WYL100/SH/A3/2/4, the three plans WYL100/SH/A3/2/1-3. The plans were never carried out.

⁵² Gilbert, "Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire – I," p. 548; Richardson, "The Architectural History of Sheriff Hutton Hall," p. 212.

⁵³ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A3/2/5.

Figure 10: New Lodge, Sheriff Hutton, c.1960s



One of ten surviving plans of New Lodge includes the note ‘[t]he first plot agreed upon for the buildinge of my house with Richard Willson 1619’ written on the back which forms the basis for Richardson and Gilbert’s argument that the New Lodge was not built until 1619 (Figures 11 and 12).⁵⁴ Richardson does admit that ‘[t]he date following this writing is given as 1619 in the accompanying catalogue entry but it could be 1609.’⁵⁵ The document is more convincingly read as 1619 than 1609, which would support the fact that Ingram was not known to have any connections with the land until 1615 when he was granted the position of keeper of Sheriff Hutton Park. It is likely, however, that the plan was the ‘first plot agreed upon’ for one building which made up New Lodge, which is further explained below.

⁵⁴ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A3/1/7.

⁵⁵ Richardson, “The Architectural History of Sheriff Hutton Hall,” p. 214.

Figure 11: Plan for New Lodge, Sheriff Hutton, 1619

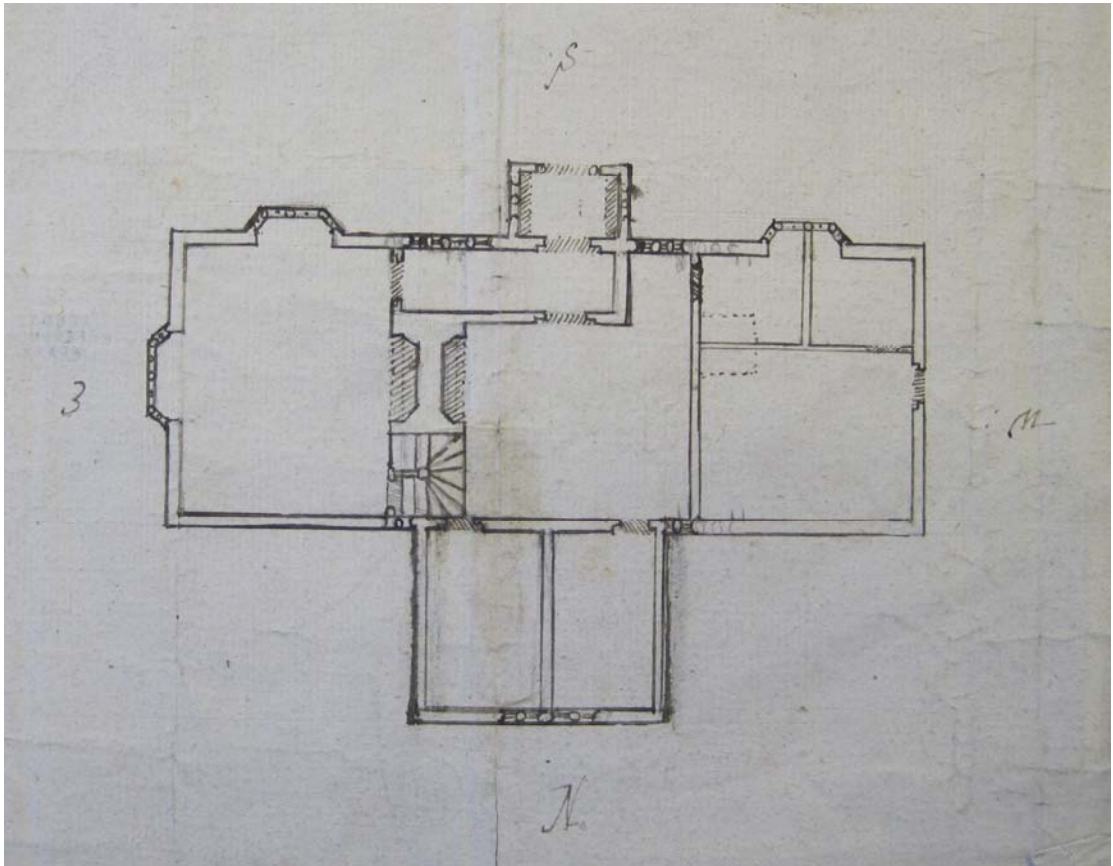
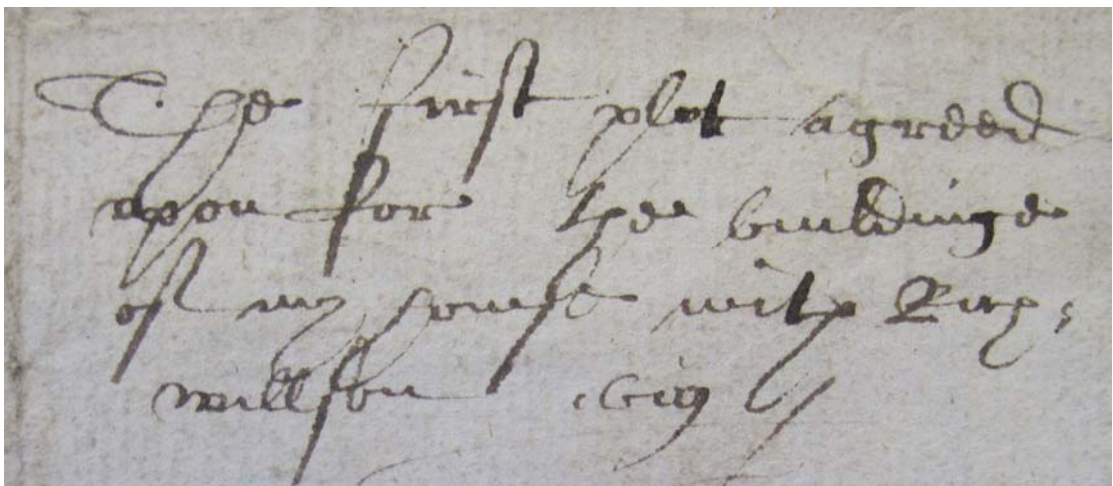


Figure 12: Script on the reverse of the plan for New Lodge, Sheriff Hutton, 1619



The precise situation of New Lodge has also generated debate. It has been disputed whether Ingram's lodge was built on the site of a previous building, was an adaptation of an older structure, or was a completely new building on a new site. The simple fact

that the lodge has the prefix 'New' subtly suggests that Ingram's lodge was replacing an 'old' lodge. The steward Rayfe Baocke recorded in his account, from April to September 1617, the taking down of an old lodge at Sheriff Hutton, '[i]tem paid to George Newsum and his men for 4 dayes tackinge downe the owld lodge ... 16s'.⁵⁶ Could this lodge have been taken down to make way for Ingram's 'New Lodge'? And could this have been the old royal hunting lodge, called the Launde House, which Christopher Gilbert believes previously occupied the site of Ingram's New Lodge?⁵⁷ Ed Dennison *et al* disagree with Gilbert's assertion that Ingram's house replaced an old royal hunting lodge and use a letter from Richard Pollerd to Thomas Lumsden dated June 1620 which was written at the 'Lawne House' to argue their case; 'Pollerd was presumably not living somewhere that had either been demolished or was in the process of being incorporated into the much larger New Lodge, and so it is feasible that the Laund House was close to, but not on exactly the same site as the later house.'⁵⁸ According to a royal survey of the park carried out in 1624 by John Norden (Figure 13), Ingram's lodge is positioned in the centre of the park and some distance from the 'lawnde' area, which also suggests that the Laund House was not the precursor to Ingram's New Lodge. Further evidence is found in a letter from Cranfield to Ingram dated 31 July 1622 whereby Cranfield sought to find out who was responsible for the derelict state of the laund house.⁵⁹ However, it is probable that a different older building was taken down or adapted to form New Lodge as Baocke's account from 1617 also recorded 'tackinge downe the Brycke wall for the Cant wyndows & the Kytchyen

⁵⁶ WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/2.

⁵⁷ Gilbert, "Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire – I," p. 549.

⁵⁸ Ed Dennison, Tony Wright, and Shaun Richardson, "The Archaeology of the Park – 2: From the Seventeenth Century," in *Within the Pale: The Story of Sheriff Hutton Park*, ed. Ed Dennison, The Sheriff Hutton Women's Institute Community Pale Project (York, 2005): 68-85, (p. 79).

⁵⁹ *Various VIII*, p. 22.

Payments to workmen carry on throughout the accounts between 1617 and 1619 but after about 1620 references to the 'new building' begin to appear.⁶¹ In October 1623 Edward Croft, glazier, recorded the use of sixty-three and a half feet of glass for one window in the 'newer building underneath the gallery.'⁶² Indeed, the bricklayer Richard Maybanke was paid 5^s per rood for constructing a gallery wall in June 1621.⁶³ This suggests that New Lodge was made up of buildings of varying date. The plans from 1619, then, may simply record one stage of modification of the building. An account between Sir Arthur Ingram and Sir Thomas Lumsden, dated 1623, compares two plots, an old one and a new one. Both plots clearly contain a building as measurements are given of the length and height of the plots, including the number of floors. The old plot contained nearly one hundred square feet more than the new plot. It is also noted that 'the rooffe of the former plot and the porch, doth exceed the rooffe of the new plot ... which is to be paralell with the thre cant windows, and two gavell ends of the new howse.'⁶⁴ This evidence, then, suggests that the new house adjoined an older structure but the roof heights did not quite match up, a factor Ingram also had to consider at his York house. Perhaps Ingram used the main range of the old house and added the two wings (with gable ends) to make the new house? Figure 14 shows a plan of New Lodge which is 55 feet long and 21 feet broad, almost matching the measurements of the old plot which was measured as 50 feet long and 18 feet broad. This could possibly be a representation of the old plot which was then modified (with wings added) to make the new plot.

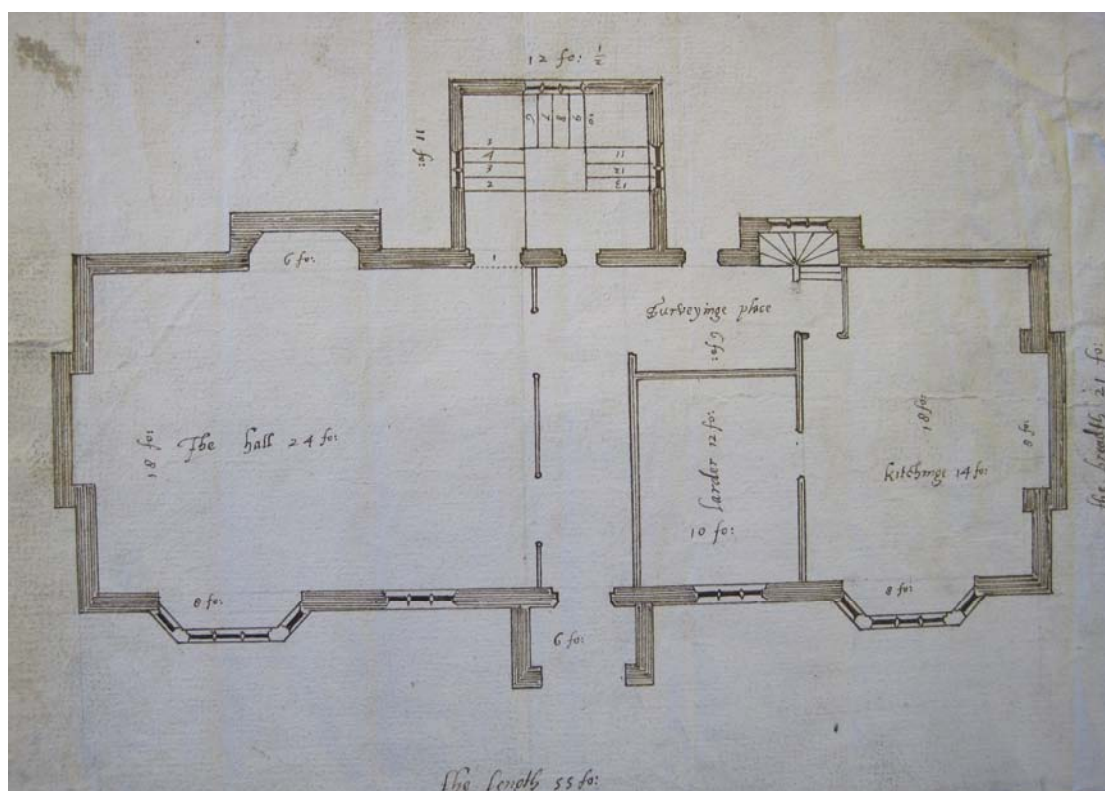
⁶¹ WYASL, WYL100/C/1/123.

⁶² WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/3.

⁶³ WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/3.

⁶⁴ WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/1.

Figure 14: Plan of New Lodge, Sheriff Hutton, measuring 55ft by 21ft



By July 1622 floors were being laid and in October chimney pieces and glass arrived from London to be fitted.⁶⁵ Rooms were wainscoted in December indicating that the house was near completion with only interior alterations to be carried out.⁶⁶ However, these same ‘finishing touches’ were being carried out simultaneously at York Palace but this did not mean further building would not take place. Sir Arthur’s son Thomas moved into New Lodge with his new bride Frances Bellasis in 1637. They carried out few alterations to the house but did construct the stables using stone from the Castle (Figure 15) and presumably a banqueting house as well as a ‘new bankin house’ is noted in accounts of 1638.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A4/16; WYL178/4, 14 October 1622.

⁶⁶ WYASL, WYL178/4, 10 December 1622.

⁶⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25, 8 July 1638; William Butler, carpenter, was contracted to construct the stables and brew house at Sheriff Hutton for £22, WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

Figure 15: Stables at New Lodge, Sheriff Hutton, built c.1637



iii) *Temple Newsam, near Leeds* (O.S. Map ref. SE3571232130)

Situated in the West Riding of Yorkshire, roughly 5 miles west of Leeds, Temple Newsam was once home to the Knights Templar, of which it derived its name. It was Thomas Lord Darcy, around the turn of the sixteenth century, who built a fine red-brick courtyard house which was to provide the substance for Sir Arthur Ingram's seventeenth century re-building. Lord Darcy's execution in 1537 by Henry VIII for the part he played in the Pilgrimage of Grace led to the house being seized by the crown, remaining in royal hands until 1544. The house was then granted to Henry's niece Margaret Tudor and her husband Matthew Earl of Lennox. The house saw the birth of their son Henry Lord Darnley who was to father Ingram's future monarch. It is at this stage in the house's colourful history that it can be identified as 'little short of a royal palace.'⁶⁸ Indeed, it was soon to be back in royal possession, Elizabeth seizing it after

⁶⁸ Wells-Cole, "Some Bedrooms and Dressing Rooms at Temple Newsam," p. 7.

Darnley's marriage to her foe, Mary Queen of Scots. Lodovick Stewart, second Duke of Lennox, received the estate from his cousin the new king of England James I, but failed to ever inhabit the place. He appointed Sir Ralph Lawson, of Brough in North Yorkshire, as steward of his estates in Yorkshire paying him £600 a year to collect rents and supervise his lands.⁶⁹ In June 1622 both Ingram and Cranfield negotiated with the Duke of Lennox for Temple Newsam but it was Ingram who secured the northern home for £12,000, paying in instalments to complete the sale by July 1624. Prestwich claims that Cranfield was not out done by Ingram, he simply 'preferred estates nearer London.'⁷⁰ Ingram also had to pay the annual Crown rent for Temple Newsam of £66, but the property proved to be the most financially rewarding of his estates, earning him about £1,200 a year.⁷¹

Ingram carried out extensive building work at Temple Newsam, demolishing the east wing of the early-Tudor courtyard house, largely re-building the north and south wings and modifying the west wing to create a half-H plan, (Figure 16). Tudor brickwork still survives in the west wing, revealing a diaper pattern, (Figure 17). Wells-Cole believes Ingram added a passage way on the first floor of the west wing, and accounts certainly suggest that a lot of work was carried out in the high passage between 1630 and 1633.⁷² Passages were becoming popular in the early seventeenth century as they gave easier access to rooms and increased privacy, and Cranfield also made such modifications to his house at Chelsea.⁷³ Certain rooms were clearly being modified in November 1626 when Ingram wrote to Matteson to instruct him to send fourteen long boards to Temple

⁶⁹ NYCRO, ZRL/9/2/6.

⁷⁰ Prestwich, p. 387.

⁷¹ Upton, pp. 191-2; WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/5.

⁷² Wells-Cole, "Some Bedrooms and Dressing Rooms at Temple Newsam," pp. 10-11; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/39, sixty-four yards were plastered in the passage as well as a door being made for the passage.

⁷³ See below, p. 159.

Newsam 'to do the parlour below that Gunby hath newly fretted.'⁷⁴ Just over a year later Francis Gunby, joiner, agreed to 'make and sett upp where the said S^r Arthur shall appoint fowre hundred yeards of wainscott or seiling at the price of twelve pence for everie yeard thereof,' suggesting that particular rooms were already constructed and ready for interior work.⁷⁵

Figure 16: Temple Newsam



⁷⁴ WYASL, WYL100/C/2, 316, 14 February 1627.

⁷⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/71/2.

Figure 17: Tudor diaper pattern brickwork in the west wing at Temple Newsam

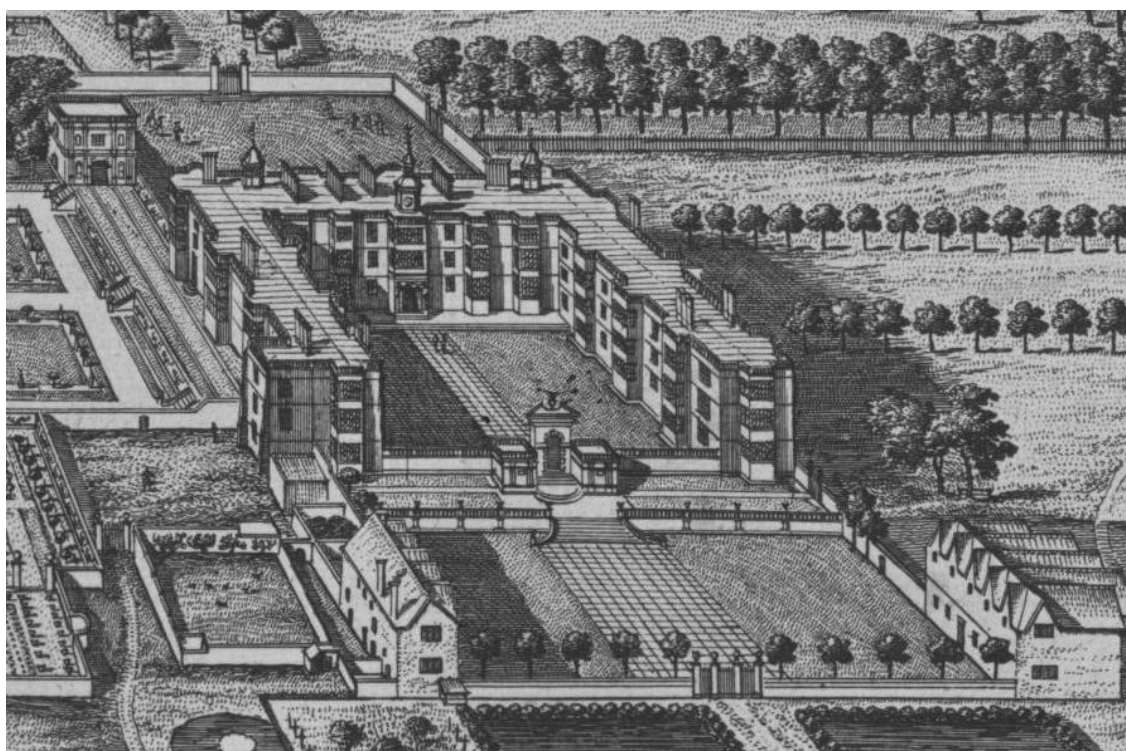


According to Richard Lister's account, which ran from October 1630 until December 1631, a new building must have been recently erected at Temple Newsam as the record included the sum of £1 14^s 3^d paid 'to plasterere for the new building.'⁷⁶ The stable, both low and high passages, closets, and gallery were also all plastered in this period. Apart from plastering interiors, most of the building work noted by Lister concerned exterior structures; houses of office were built, the stable constructed, and the brew house slated. The wooden terrace in the court was taken down and new stone terraces were set up, whilst the court and gardens were dressed and levelled. The lead that covered the gatehouses was supported by new boards laid underneath it, gates were bought, as was stone for the gates (presumably the gateposts), and 1^s 8^d was paid 'for a center for ye gates'. The gatehouses, which were situated on the open east side of the

⁷⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/39.

house as part of a wall that provided a enclosed courtyard, can be seen on Kip's view (Figure 18) and clearly created an impressive entrance to the house. Summerson notes that these walled forecourts were 'a vestige of the courtyard plan, with an ornamental gateway and, perhaps, lodges.'⁷⁷ Temple Newsam proudly displayed its ornamental gateway which was flanked by two classical lodges, giving it the whole package.

Figure 18: Detail of Temple Newsam by Johannes Kip, 1699



In August 1633 the bricklayer John Wilton covenanted to 'add erect and build one peece of brick building on the southside of the Kitchin at Temple Newsam ... iiii^s x^d the rood and to be paid upon measure of every storye, the wall to be two foote and a halfe in bredth'.⁷⁸ This could possibly be the banqueting house which can be seen in Kip's view positioned to the south-west of the house. In September 1634 the master-mason John

⁷⁷ John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 88.

⁷⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/71/4.

Ramshawe paid £3 15^s for 16 rood of banqueting house to be constructed, which equates to 4^s 8¼^d the rood, near enough (often workmen did not receive odd pence) the price Wilton was contracted just over a year earlier.⁷⁹ Workmen's wages were often in arrears, so the fact that payment for the banqueting house is recorded over a year after the contract was drawn up does not mean that the work was only just being carried out – it may have been finished months earlier, signifying that the building Wilton constructed could indeed have been the banqueting house.⁸⁰

A contract between Ingram and Nicholas Booth, plasterer, recorded that Booth agreed to '[f]ret the Gallery with the same work that the parlour is fretted and to have the Archatrive freaze and Cornasse a yeard deepe in the same Roome And likewise to work the drawing Roome with another frett but rather the better.'⁸¹ The date of the document is inconveniently missing due to damage but it is probably late 1634 as Ramshawe recorded payment 'to Nicholas Booth for fretting 3 chambers' in his account of disbursements at Temple Newsam from 27 September 1634 until 10 January the following year.⁸² Richard Lister recorded payment to Earles for plastering the gallery in his account of 1630-1 which could either mean that the gallery was generally plastered before the decorative fret-work was carried out by a more specialist craftsman, for example Booth, or that Ingram was altering the layout of the rooms and Earles was plastering what was the 'old' gallery and Booth was fretting the 'new' gallery. This could be viable as Ramshawe recorded a brick partition being put up in the gallery in 1634 indicating that Ingram was perhaps dividing an old gallery into smaller rooms. The chapel that Ingram created at the end of the north wing was two storeys high with a

⁷⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/1.

⁸⁰ For a full discussion of the late payment of craftsmen's wages see Chapter 5, pp. 288-9.

⁸¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/71/1.

⁸² WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/1.

chapel chamber attached on the first floor.⁸³ The chapel chamber, which originally would have looked down onto the chapel, is now blocked off and stands as a separate room on the first floor. The only evidence that it was previously part of the chapel is the extant plaster frieze, decorated with foliage and masks, which decorated the chamber (Figure 47).⁸⁴ It is now part of the staff kitchen, and is discussed in further detail in the next chapter.⁸⁵

In the midst of building work disaster struck when Temple Newsam was ‘almost burn’t to the ground’ according to George Garrard in a letter to Lord Wentworth in 1635.⁸⁶ According to Gilbert this was an exaggeration as only the south wing seemed to be effected and the repairing of the woodwork that had been damaged only cost £50.⁸⁷ Despite all the improvements Ingram made to Temple Newsam he never actually lived there himself, preferring his York abode. He established his eldest son Sir Arthur Ingram the younger at Temple Newsam and their descendants continued to own and occupy the estate until the early twentieth century.

iv) *Bootham Almshouse, York* (O.S. Map ref. SE5977652530)

The almshouse Ingram established for ten poor widows in the Bootham area of York between 1630 and 1632 still survives and consists of ‘a single row of two-storyed dwellings with a chapel in the centre beneath a square tower,’ (Figure 19).⁸⁸ The almshouse was built on the site of an old building which was taken down in April 1630

⁸³ Robertson, “The Jacobean Chapel at Temple Newsam,” p. 21.

⁸⁴ David Bostwick, “Decorative Plasterwork of the Yorkshire Region, 1570-1670” (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1993), p. 129.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 6, p. 308 for information on decorating of the chapel with paintings.

⁸⁶ Gilbert, “Light on Sir Arthur Ingram’s Reconstruction of Temple Newsam, 1622-38,” p. 8.

⁸⁷ Gilbert, “Light on Sir Arthur Ingram’s Reconstruction of Temple Newsam, 1622-38,” p. 8.

⁸⁸ Gilbert, “Ingram’s Almshouse, York,” p. 31.

by two workmen for 40^s, of which the materials were ‘set by in the garth’ to be reused.⁸⁹ Ingram had bought a messuage lying in Bootham just two months earlier from Thomas Sandwith, which no doubt was the old house that made way for Ingram’s new establishment.⁹⁰ The almshouse was clearly not built on the exact foundations of the old house, however, as work had already begun on the almshouse when the old house was demolished, the building being ‘water table height’ by the 17 April.⁹¹ Presumably the almshouse was erected on the land that came with the messuage, which consisted of one acre.⁹² A stone door stead was bought for 13^s 4^d from the churchwardens at Holy Trinity Church in Micklegate, which provided an elaborate entrance to the chapel.⁹³ The late twelfth century doorway, with nail-head ornament, can still be seen today, (Figure 20).⁹⁴

Figure 19: Bootham Almshouse



⁸⁹ WYASL, WYL178/5, 17 April 1630.

⁹⁰ WYASL, WYL100/YO/A/12, 11 February 1630.

⁹¹ WYASL, WYL178/5, 5 and 17 April 1630; WYL100/C/2, 451, 15 April 1630.

⁹² WYASL, WYL100/YO/A/12, 11 February 1630.

⁹³ Gilbert, “Ingram’s Almshouse, York,” p. 32.

⁹⁴ *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the city of York: IV Outside the City Walls, East of the Ouse*, RCHME, (London: HMSO, 1975), p. 49.

Figure 20: Late twelfth century doorway appropriated by Ingram for his almshouse



An extension to the chapel at the almshouse was added in 1632, with a Dutch gable and a Gothic arched window. John Hunter was paid for ‘cutting 180 bricke for furmeing ye arch of the greate window’, the outline of which can be seen in Figure 21, the window since having been bricked up.⁹⁵ On 21 April 1632 John Matteson recorded payment for ‘2000 of tile to cover the rooffe of the Addicon of the Chappell’, and by July the interior was being wainscoted.⁹⁶ Richard Cundall constructed the pews and the ‘desk for the reader’ a month later, coming to a cost of £5 10^s.⁹⁷ The chapel contained two staircases made by another carpenter, John Etty, and plaster was also received to be used in setting

⁹⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/15, 21 April 1632.

⁹⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18; WYL100/EA/13/16.

⁹⁷ WYASL, WYL100/YO/B/I.

the stair cases.⁹⁸ The almshouse suffered great damage during the siege of York in 1644, being subject to fire and looting, which led to nearly all the timberwork requiring reconstruction.⁹⁹ In 1649 a ‘new battlement’ was constructed by the tilers William and John Benson which presumably replaced the old roof of the original part of the chapel.¹⁰⁰ Thankfully the building itself survived and can still be seen today.

Figure 21: Outline of a Gothic arched window at the rear of the almshouse



⁹⁸ WYASL, WYL100/YO/B/I; WYL100/EA/13/16. For a discussion of John Etty's family see Chapter 5, pp. 271-2.

⁹⁹ Gilbert, "Ingram's Almshouse, York," p. 33; *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York: IV Outside the City Walls, East of the Ouse*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁰ WYASL, WYL100/YO/B/II, 26 October 1649.

The features used by Ingram in the building of the almshouse, such as the Gothic window and traditional door frame, were not features he employed in the building of his own houses, but, as Hunneyball notes, charitable buildings were often ‘not vehicles for architectural display in the way that their founders’ own homes ... were.’¹⁰¹ It was not the style of the building that mattered but the message it conveyed to society. Ingram, as founder of the almshouse, was projecting an image of himself as a charitable man who was concerned about the people within his community. Hunneyball also noted that men with enough funds to establish their own foundation often did so rather than supporting state governed charities.¹⁰² This suggests that they saw the opportunity to put their name to a worthy cause and desired recognition for their actions, improving their public image. Ingram did give money to prisoners but did not support any almshouses before setting up his own, implying that he saw the establishment of an almshouse as a means to project a favourable public image.¹⁰³

v) *New Park, Forest of Galtres* (O.S. Map ref. SE546622)

Sir Arthur’s last building venture came in the final year of his life, between 1641 and 1642, at the hunting lodge in the Forest of Galtres, called New Park (Figure 22). The whole Forest of Galtres contained some 7,600 acres according to John Donnington’s note of February 1636, and large parts of this vast area had already been enclosed by Ingram by this time, affecting the villages of Huntington, Elvington, East and West Lilling and Sheriff Hutton.¹⁰⁴ The parliamentary survey of 1650 recorded that New Park itself contained 995 acres 3 roods coming to an annual valuation of £363 19^s 4^d, and

¹⁰¹ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 53.

¹⁰² Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 48.

¹⁰³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/20; see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of Ingram’s philanthropy.

¹⁰⁴ WYASL, WYL100/GF, 2 February 1636; Upton, p. 198.

included 270 fallow deer worth £180 and timber worth £1,522 4^s.¹⁰⁵ Ingram leased the lodge from Thomas, 1st Viscount Savile, for £100 a year.¹⁰⁶ It had previously belonged to Wentworth, but after his execution in 1640 it came into the hands of Savile. Wentworth had been keen to acquire the lease of the royal hunting reserve and in 1633 entreated the Earl of Carlisle to put in ‘one good word’ for him with the king when Charles visited the park with Carlisle.¹⁰⁷ Wentworth, who was serving as Lord Deputy to the Council of the North at this time, was rewarded by the king, who granted him the park after his visit.¹⁰⁸

Figure 22: New Park



¹⁰⁵ TNA, E317/Yorks/38, fols. 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ Gilbert, “New Park, Huby, - An Early 17th Century Hunting Lodge,” p. 186.

¹⁰⁷ *The Earl of Strafforde’s Letters and Dispatches with an essay towards his life by Sir George Radcliffe*, ed., William Knowler (London: William Boyer, 1739), I, p. 85.

¹⁰⁸ Gilbert, “New Park, Huby, - An Early 17th Century Hunting Lodge,” p. 185.

Despite Ingram's advanced years, he would be in his seventies by the early 1640s, he evidently carried out extensive modifications on the house, constructing a gallery, a second storey and re-casing the roof.¹⁰⁹ He also installed canted bay windows and laid new floors.¹¹⁰ It is also likely that an extension to the existing building was erected as a 'new Addition' is mentioned, and the withdrawing room was situated 'next to the great chamber in the *old* building.'¹¹¹ The wooden staircase that was constructed by William Butler, the master carpenter, and carved by Thomas Ventris, still survives (Figure 23). The stairs led up to the most important room in the house, the great chamber (as discussed below) and were therefore an important feature as they would be ascended by all guests. Girouard has noted that the Jacobean period saw the 'new development of the open-well timber staircase' which could be made 'resplendent with painting or carving.'¹¹² Although Ingram's staircase at New Park is far from the exquisite staircases created at houses such as Hatfield and Knole, it does conform to the new trend, being cantilevered with the short newel posts carved and topped with ornamental features.¹¹³ Such staircases were 'status symbols' and Ingram's would no doubt be considered very grand for a country lodge.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ WYASL, WYL100/C/3, 257, 12 November 1641; WYL100/C/3, 275, 24 December 1641.

¹¹⁰ WYASL, WYL100/C/4, 2, 7 January 1642; WYL100/C/4, 4, 14 January 1642.

¹¹¹ WYASL, WYL100/C/3, 257, 12 November 1641; WYL100/C/4, 2, 7 January 1642, my italics.

¹¹² Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp. xiii, 90-91.

¹¹³ For more information of the stairs at Knole and Hatfield see Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, pp. 371-373.

¹¹⁴ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 371.

Figure 23: Carved wooden staircase at New Park



The building work did not always go smoothly, however, and there were delays on site because of what William Butler called ‘the late disaster of the chimneys.’¹¹⁵ Matteson had written to Ingram just six weeks earlier informing him that ‘by tomorrow night all the brickwork will be done within a yard round of the top all but the chimneys, and for Butler most of his second floor is up, and his timber work the end and the rest of that floor will all be up by Wednesday or Thursday next at the farthest.’¹¹⁶ Butler was recorded as laying floors in the middle of January so it seems the ‘disaster of the chimneys’ certainly halted progress on site.¹¹⁷ Butler was also prevented from working on the roof and had to take part of it down after the chimneys fell, a consequence, perhaps, of what Sir Balthazar Gerbier described as ‘exorbitant Chimney-Shafts, which when they fall, break both Roofs and Sealings of Roomes’.¹¹⁸ Gerbier believed chimneys only needed to be two feet high to fulfil their practical purpose of conveying smoke out of the house, but Ingram’s at New Park were over eight feet high (Figure 24).¹¹⁹ Ingram’s chimneys were clearly for show, and he paid the price for it as work on site was slowed down. Despite these setbacks, the house was described just seven years later in the parliamentary survey as ‘fairely builte’ and ‘consistinge of severall large and hansome Roomes’.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ WYASL, WYL100/C/3, 275, 24 December 1641.

¹¹⁶ WYASL, WYL100/C/3, 257, 12 November 1641.

¹¹⁷ WYASL, WYL100/C/4, 4, 14 January 1642.

¹¹⁸ WYASL, WYL100/C/3, 275, 24 December 1641. Sir Balthazar Gerbier, *The first and second part of counsel and advice to all builders: for the choice of their surveyors, clerks of their works, bricklayers, masons, carpenters, and other workmen therein concerned. As also in respect of their works, materials, and rates thereof*, (1664), p. 9.

¹¹⁹ Gerbier, *The first and second part of counsel and advice to all builders*, pp. 9-10.

¹²⁰ TNA, E317/Yorks/38, fol. 1.

Figure 24: The chimneys at New Park

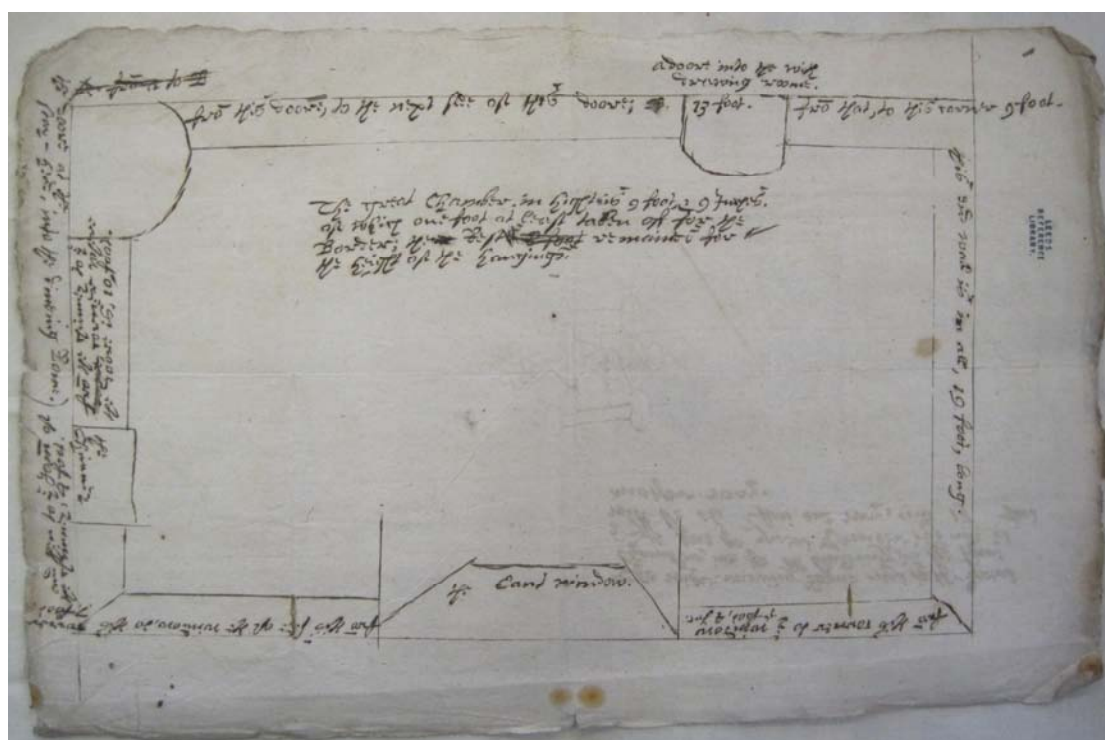


One of these large and handsome rooms was the great chamber, which according to the plan drawn by John Matteson and included in a letter to Ingram, measured 22 feet by 19 feet and had a canted bay window (Figure 25).¹²¹ On inspection of the house as it stands today, the great chamber can be located as it was entered from the stair head (and the original stairs still remain in the same position to this day). The room has been divided into three smaller rooms, and the brickwork surrounding the new windows on the

¹²¹ WYASL, WYL100/C/4, 2, 7 January 1642.

exterior shows where the ten foot canted window would have been positioned (Figure 26). In the room to the immediate left of the great chamber was the withdrawing room according to Matteson's plan, and this room still retains part of the original frieze which is 'neare a foot deepe' which the carver Thomas Ventris made in December 1641 (Figure 27).¹²² It is surprising that any original features of the house have survived as the Forest of Galtres suffered greatly during the Civil War, and the owner of New Park at that time, Colonel Robert Lilburne let the estate fall into disrepair. At the Restoration, however, the Royalist captain Richard Harland took over the house and restored it to order before assigning it to Henry Darcy after just a year.¹²³

Figure 25: John Matteson's plan of the great chamber at New Park, 1642



¹²² WYASL, WYL100/C/3, 282, 31 December 1641. For comment on the style of the plaster work carried out at New Park see Chapter 4, p. 193.

¹²³ Myra Curtis, "Parishes: Sutton-on-the-Forest", in *A History of Yorkshire North Riding*, 2, ed. William Page. The Victoria History of the Counties of England. (London: St. Catherine Press, 1923): 196-202, (pp. 197-8).

Figure 26: South front of New Park, showing bricked up window



Figure 27: Original plaster frieze by Thomas Ventris (1641), in situ at New Park



vi) *Dean's Yard, Westminster* (O.S. Map ref. TQ3001479375)

Despite his earlier dealings in the City it was in Westminster that Ingram truly settled.

He rented his house there from 1619 up until his death in 1642, and was even returned

as a candidate for Westminster in the 1620 election.¹²⁴ This move clearly shows that despite Ingram's rejection at court in 1615 he was still keen to improve his social standing by choosing to reside in an affluent area that was popular with the nobility and courtiers due to its focus on parliament, government, and law, as opposed to the eastern side of London which was largely associated with trade and industry, mainly housing craftsmen and mariners.¹²⁵ Dean's Yard, in particular, along with Canon Row, was favoured by the nobility as a place of residence.¹²⁶ According to John Stow's revised 1603 text of *The Survey of London*, Westminster included 'diverse fair buildings, Hosteries, and houses for Gentlemen, and men of honor', suggesting Ingram's surroundings were largely dominated by the latest elite architecture.¹²⁷ These environs could easily have influenced Ingram's Yorkshire building projects, providing ideas for both form and style.

Rent receipts survive from 1619 to 1624 which record the payment of £10 per quarter by Ingram to William Minturne for the house he lodged in within the college yard of Westminster, in St. Margaret's Parish.¹²⁸ After 1624 no records have been found which note rent payments by Ingram for his house in Dean's Yard apart from one disbursement of £17 on 29 June 1634 to Dr John Williams, Dean of Westminster between 1620 and 1644.¹²⁹ All the information concerned with Ingram's lease of the

¹²⁴ J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster, Abbey, Court and Community 1525-1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 84.

¹²⁵ M. J. Power, "The East and West in Early-Modern London," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S. T. Bindoff*, eds. E. W. Ives, R. J. Knecht, J. J. Scarisbrick (London: Athlone Press, 1978): 167-185, (p. 183); see also, Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, Chapter 5.

¹²⁶ Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 195.

¹²⁷ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, (1603), ed., Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 2, p. 98.

¹²⁸ WYASL, WYL100/LO/ London Property – Rents, Stewards' Accounts, Repairs etc.: 1619-24, Rent of house in College Yard, Westminster.

¹²⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

house is found in his own papers and he is notably absent from all the documents in the Westminster Abbey Muniments which concern the college close. Ingram's son, the younger Sir Arthur, is listed in an account of residents compiled in 1649, which is held in the Westminster Abbey Muniments. Sir Arthur the younger rented a tenement, garden and water for 6^s 8^d per half year, and also a stable, coach house and hayloft for 2^s 6^d per half year.¹³⁰ Presumably these are the buildings that Sir Arthur Ingram the elder leased during his lifetime, as he had a stable which he repaired (see below) and he also paid the clerk of works Edward Fuller quarterly for water.¹³¹ Merritt states that Ingram rented his lodgings from the former chorister of Westminster Abbey, William Heather. Merritt makes the supposition based on a comment by the Earl of Clare in 1627 that furnished lodgings 'suche [as] My Lord Say hath in Holborne at this time, and such had or hath Sir Arthur Ingram at Doctor Hethers' were preferred due to ease.¹³² No documents have been found which confirm Ingram leased a house from Heather, although he may have done in the period between 1624, when Minturne's receipts cease, and 1634 when he paid rent to Williams. Clare's uncertainty at Ingram's current status suggests if Ingram did lease a house from Heather, it may not have been for a long period of time.

Ingram clearly carried out some form of building works at his house in Westminster. In July 1636 Mr Ireland, a friend and steward of Ingram's who also resided in Dean's Yard, recorded disbursing £10 towards the building of a new chapel.¹³³ Three years earlier, Ireland had paid carpenters, bricklayers, masons, joiners and painters for work carried out on Ingram's Westminster home, and in 1634 recorded the payment of 8^s 8^d

¹³⁰ WAM, MSS 12963, fol. 8^v.

¹³¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

¹³² Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 152.

¹³³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/3.

to the bricklayer Walter Hall for his workmanship on the stable, as well as the materials he provided.¹³⁴

A letter from William Ivatt, another resident of the close, to Ingram in August 1639 reveals that Ingram had recently built a new kitchen with a new chimney, the chimney being ‘a great hindrance’ to his neighbour Lady Kingsmill in her ‘disposeall of the said house’.¹³⁵ Although Lady Kingsmill attained an order from the Earl of Arundel instructing Ingram to remove the said chimney, Justice Whitaker allowed the chimney to stand until it proved offensive to any that agreed to take Lady Kingsmill’s house. Ingram clearly knew how to influence Whitaker, previously buying him a suit made by his tailor Robert Whale.¹³⁶ Whether Ingram ever removed the chimney is unknown, but Ivatt did inform him that certain workmen had suggested that the chimney and oven could be adapted rather than removed by turning the shaft with an arch against Ingram’s own house, therefore not causing any offence to neighbours.¹³⁷ This episode highlights the problems that could be faced when building in urban areas within close proximity to other residences, issues that become more or less irrelevant in the countryside, as Leone Battista Alberti noted in his *Ten Books on Architecture*, ‘[i]n building a house in Town, your Neighbours’ wall, a common Gutter, a publicke Square or Street, and the like, shall all hinder you from contriving it just to your own Mind’.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/3.

¹³⁵ WYASL, WYL100/C/3/197.

¹³⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 16 April 1635.

¹³⁷ WYASL, WYL100/C/3/197.

¹³⁸ See in particular Lena Cowen Orlin, “Boundary Disputes in Early Modern London,” in *Material London, ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000): 344-376; Leone Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, (1485), trans., James Leoni, ed., Joseph Rykwert (London: Alec Tiranti Ltd, 1955), p. 100.

Another case appeared shortly after Ingram's death, when Dame Barbara Villiers, a resident of Dean's Yard for over twenty years and therefore neighbour to Ingram, complained to the House of Lords that buildings had been erected against the walls of her house 'depriving her not only of the Eyre and prospecte she formerly enioyed but of all manner of privacy in the best roomes of her house, her yard and garden'.¹³⁹ Another petition was lodged by her over a month later stating that Edward Bromfield and others had continued to build in Dean's Yard, much to her inconvenience.¹⁴⁰ The college close appears to have been a hive of building activity, almost a microcosm of Westminster itself where rebuilding was virile. Salisbury House, York House, and Somerset House (renamed Denmark House) were just some of the residences being built or remodelled by the elite in the first half of the seventeenth century, and like the college close buildings they were not free from complaint and litigation over space.¹⁴¹ Illegal buildings were often put up against established buildings, in Westminster the New Exchange was blighted by sheds that were erected against the shops.¹⁴² Cathedrals were another target, and York Minster obviously suffered as Charles I wrote to the Dean and Chapter in May 1633 ordering the removal of buildings that had been put up against the Minster. The buildings which were 'to the detriment of the church and altogether to the disgrace of that goodlie ffabrick' were situated on the south and west sides of the cathedral and also in the cross aisle.¹⁴³ Ingram's house was situated to the north-west of the minster and therefore may have been affected by the buildings erected on the west side of the church.

¹³⁹ PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/134, 7 October 1642.

¹⁴⁰ PA, HL/PO/JO/10/1/137, 22 November 1642

¹⁴¹ Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 144.

¹⁴² Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 158.

¹⁴³ WYASL, WYL100/YO/H/4.

3.2 Lionel Cranfield's Houses

i) *Wood Street, Parish of St. Albans, City of London* (O.S. Map ref. TQ3236381471)

In 1603 Cranfield began work on his first house which was located in the parish of St Albans, in the centre of the City near Cheapside, 'in Wood Street about the middle near the Church'.¹⁴⁴ In July 1609 Cranfield's records note a payment of 2^s 4^d 'for an annual rent due to the deane and chapter of westminster for a tenement in wodstreet & for the acquit 4^d'.¹⁴⁵ Although it is tempting to assume this was the rent he paid for the house he lived in it cannot be confirmed as Cranfield also owned other tenements in the street.¹⁴⁶ However, a valuation of the house is recorded by Cranfield in 1606 when he rated the house, with its contents, as being worth £2000, and it remained at this value in 1624.¹⁴⁷

John Stow noted in his 1603 edition of *Survey of London* that Wood Street's name may be derived from the fact that 'this street hath beene of the latter building all of timber, (for not one house of stone hath been known there)'.¹⁴⁸ Stow's observation was around the time Cranfield began building his new home so either Stow knew of Cranfield's plans and they were to use materials which fitted with the existing nature and name of the street, or Stow published his *Survey of London* before Cranfield began which means that Cranfield may have used stone or brick, and if he did he was certainly leading the way within his own street. Building accounts from 1603 reveal various materials employed in construction, but both wood and brick are mentioned.¹⁴⁹ Although no plans exist, certain features of the building can be discerned from the building accounts and

¹⁴⁴ *Cranfield Papers* I, p. 163, letter from Sir Richard Gargrave addressed as such to Lionel Cranfield, 29 June 1608.

¹⁴⁵ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 18 July 1609.

¹⁴⁶ *Cranfield Papers* I, pp. 102, 226.

¹⁴⁷ *Cranfield Papers* I, p. 131; Prestwich, p. 419n.

¹⁴⁸ Stow, *A Survey of London*, I, p. 295.

¹⁴⁹ For a full discussion of building materials used see Chapter 5.

correspondence. A letter to Cranfield at Albury, where he was residing with his family whilst the plague was thriving in London, from Thomas Gardiner provides invaluable information on the house.¹⁵⁰ Gardiner's letter hints that the new building which was being erected may only have been part of the house, suggesting Cranfield was improving an older building by attaching an addition. Gardiner informed his master that '[t]he chimneys are made in the new building and the house covered. But for the making of the stairs to that building shall not be done except you will come up ... to see and hear the opinion of Thornton', clearly distinguishing the new building from the house.¹⁵¹ The new building incorporated a jetty supported by columns that had to be re-positioned due to 'a botcher's beginning'.¹⁵² Windows were fitted in the hall, chapel, and great parlour, whilst stone floors were laid in the porch, in the little parlour and the great parlour, the kitchen, the gallery, and the hall, and painting was carried out on the gable end, the arch work, the counting house and the chimneys.¹⁵³ Cranfield's city home was clearly of a considerable size, having the requisite gallery, hall and kitchen, along with two parlours. Many houses of the elite had two parlours, one for winter and one for summer. Although Cranfield's are not termed as such, the little parlour may have been used more in winter as it was a smaller area to heat, whereas the great parlour was probably better suited to use in the summer.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 59-61. It is unfortunate that correspondence similar to that between Ingram and Matteson does not survive between Gardiner and Cranfield to reveal further detail on the building at Wood Street.

¹⁵¹ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 60.

¹⁵² *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 59-60; see Chapter 5, p. 262.

¹⁵³ CKS, U269/1 E2, December 1604.

¹⁵⁴ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 69.

ii) *Pishiobury, Hertfordshire* (O.S. Map ref. TL4808213412)

Before he acquired his first country estate Cranfield leased a house called ‘The Place’ at Ware which was less than ten miles from his future home at Pishiobury.¹⁵⁵ It was not until a decade later that Cranfield purchased the estate at Pishiobury from Sir Thomas Mildmay in October 1611.¹⁵⁶ The sale was complete by the following May when Cranfield paid Mildmay £930 ‘in full for Pisobury’.¹⁵⁷ A year later he extended his estate at Pishiobury by purchasing Sayes Park for £520 from Cecil, and in 1614 he bought the manor of Shering which completed his acquisition of Hertfordshire lands.¹⁵⁸ Many courtiers chose Hertfordshire as the place for their country seat due to its close proximity to London.¹⁵⁹ It was not just the distance from London that was important, but also the quality of the road to aid the journey, which was reasonably good according to a document in Cranfield’s papers which sets Pishiobury as ‘distant 20 miles of *good waie* from London’.¹⁶⁰

The house at Pishiobury was built by Sir Thomas Mildmay’s father William in 1585, and, according to Sir Henry Chauncy, was ‘a very neat and fair Pile of Building’.¹⁶¹ Indeed, in the early seventeenth century it is referred to as ‘[a] faire well built howse of Brick in perfect good repaier’.¹⁶² The only surviving features from the original courtyard house are sections of Elizabethan brickwork which were integrated into the

¹⁵⁵ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 45.

¹⁵⁶ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 240, 30 October 1611.

¹⁵⁷ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 31 May 1612.

¹⁵⁸ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479], 3 April 1613; Prestwich, p. 132; Alice Raven, ‘Parishes: Sawbridgeworth,’ in *A History of Hertfordshire*, 3, ed. William Page. The Victoria History of the Counties of England. (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1921): 332-347, (p. 336).

¹⁵⁹ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁶⁰ CKS, U269 E286/3 [ON1284], my italics.

¹⁶¹ Sir Henry Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, (1700), p. 178.

¹⁶² CKS, U269 E286/3 [ON1284].

re-building of the house by James Wyatt in 1782.¹⁶³ Cranfield appears to have done fairly little to the actual house during his time of occupation, concentrating his energies mainly on the gardens and grounds.¹⁶⁴ A new coach house was constructed in 1612 and a new barn the following May, whilst work on the gardens was ongoing.¹⁶⁵ Cranfield did make one significant addition to the house, a new porch which he commissioned Peter Thornton to construct in 1615.¹⁶⁶ John Harris has stated that Inigo Jones designed a door or porch for Cranfield's Pishiobury home, the evidence being a document that was once found in the Cranfield papers but is now missing.¹⁶⁷ Perhaps, then, Jones designed the porch which featured classical elements such as columns, balusters, pedestals, and '2 boyes to stande upon the postes', which Thornton and his team of carpenters then constructed.¹⁶⁸

Cranfield held on to Pishiobury until 1634 despite not living there for some time. Whilst he spent time at his larger country estate, Copt Hall, he established Sir Edward Greville (whose land, and consequently his re-homing, he had acquired from Ingram) at Pishiobury in the summer of 1625.¹⁶⁹ By September 1632 Greville was relieved of the care of Pishiobury by Cranfield and was instead to receive £200 per year and a house at Fulham.¹⁷⁰ Between 1632 and 1634 rent receipts survive for the payment of £50 per year by Cranfield for a house in Fulham, presumably that which Greville inhabited.¹⁷¹

¹⁶³ Smith, *Hertfordshire Houses*, p. 170.

¹⁶⁴ See Chapter 7.

¹⁶⁵ CKS, U269/1 E36; U269/1 E20/1, 14 May 1613.

¹⁶⁶ CKS U269 A512 [ON4482].

¹⁶⁷ John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings* (New York: The Drawing Center, 1989), p. 84.

¹⁶⁸ For a more detailed discussion of the design of the porch see Chapter 4, pp. 183-5.

¹⁶⁹ CKS, U269 T172, 15 August 1625.

¹⁷⁰ CKS, U269 T172, 29 September 1632.

¹⁷¹ CKS, U269 E268.

Two years after Greville had departed Pishiobury Cranfield sold the manor and his other Hertfordshire lands to Sir John Hewitt for £16,500.¹⁷²

iii) *Chelsea House, later called Beaufort House* (O.S. Map ref. TQ2739577805)

The early seventeenth century village of Chelsea bore little resemblance to the built up area of London it is today. Lying two and half miles down the river from the court at Westminster, the village was ideally situated for courtiers who desired the essence of a country estate whilst being in easy reach of the capital.¹⁷³ Sixteenth century residents of the village included eminent figures such as Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor to Henry VIII, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer to Elizabeth I, and subsequently Burghley's son Robert Cecil, future Lord Treasurer to James I. The house that Cranfield bought in the parish in February 1620 from Sir Arthur Gorges for the sum of £3,000 is reputed to have been the home of all of the distinguished statesmen mentioned above.¹⁷⁴ Whether Chelsea House was the actual building Sir Thomas More resided in is debatable, but it is clear from plans in the Hatfield archives that the Cecils were previous owners of the house in which Cranfield was to spend his glory days.¹⁷⁵ The plans reveal not only the form of the house as it was when Robert Cecil acquired it from his father in 1597 (Figures 28 and 29) but also the proposed alterations he envisioned for it (Figures 30, 31 and 32).¹⁷⁶ However, Cecil only owned the house for two years before selling it to Henry Clinton, the second Earl of Lincoln, which may be

¹⁷² Prestwich, p. 506.

¹⁷³ Patricia E.C. Croot, "Settlement and building: Chelsea up to 1680," in *A History of the County of Middlesex 12: Chelsea*, ed. Patricia E. C. Croot. The Victoria History of the Counties of England, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911): 14-26, (p. 18).

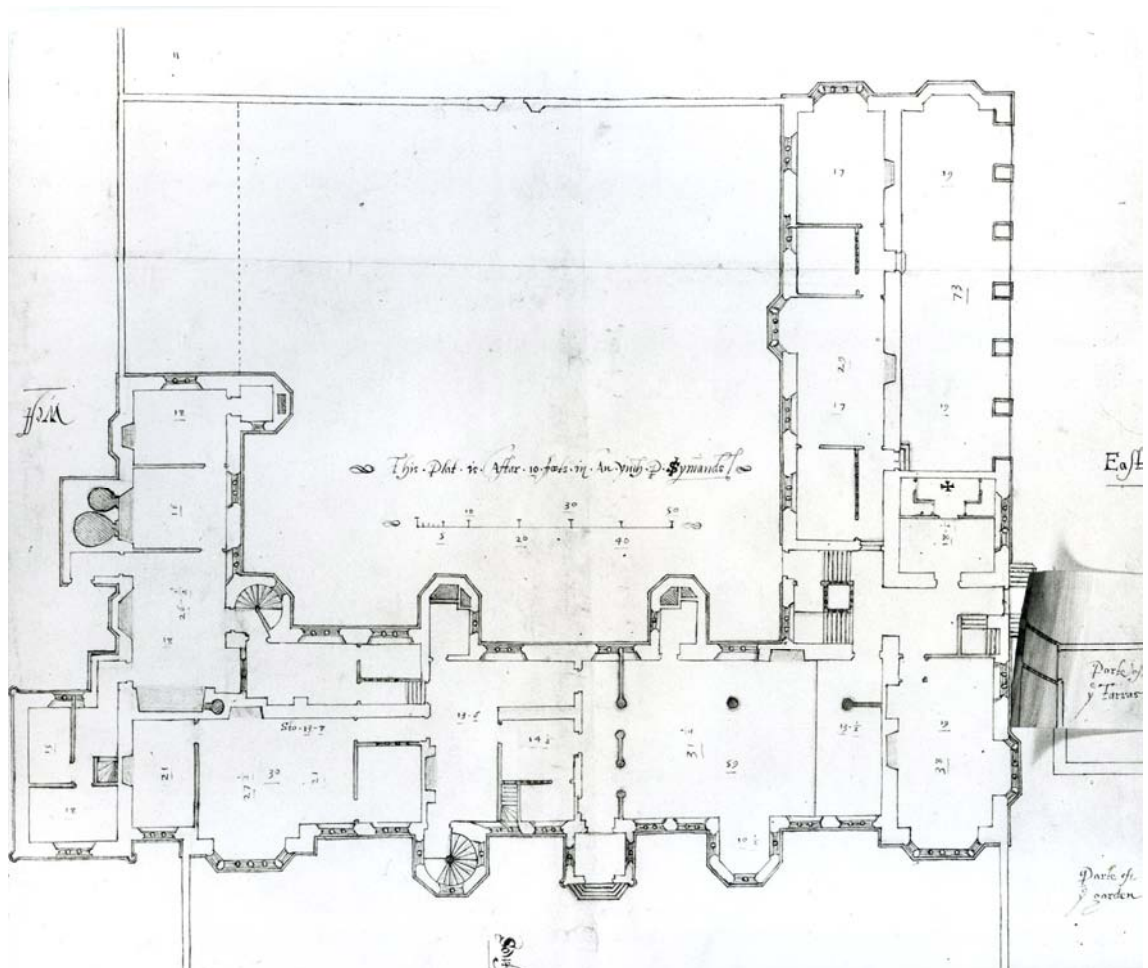
¹⁷⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP 43 [ON8156], the last payment for the house was made by Cranfield to Sir Arthur Gorges on 25 March 1623 (not 1624 as Prestwich states); Prestwich, pp. 266-7; Godfrey, "The Site of Beaufort House", pp. 18-19.

¹⁷⁵ Croot, "Settlement and building: Chelsea up to 1680," p. 20; Hatfield MSS, CPM II 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16. The plans correlate with both Thorpe's plan and Kip's drawing.

¹⁷⁶ The plans are discussed in detail in Chapter 4, pp. 216-9.

why the full modifications he proposed were not deemed to have been carried out. Although Cecil abandoned his plans at Chelsea, he did update the house in certain areas, such as re-positioning the porch to create a symmetrical facade on the south front, pulling down some of the old house (most likely a substantial section of the east wing to align it with the west wing), and carrying out some construction work, identified by his initials on rain water heads.¹⁷⁷

Figure 28: Ground floor plan of Chelsea House by J. Symonds, c.1595-6



¹⁷⁷ Godfrey, "New Lights on Old Subjects, II – Sir Thomas More's House at Chelsea," pp. 133-4.

Figure 29: First floor plan of Chelsea House by J. Symonds, c.1595-6

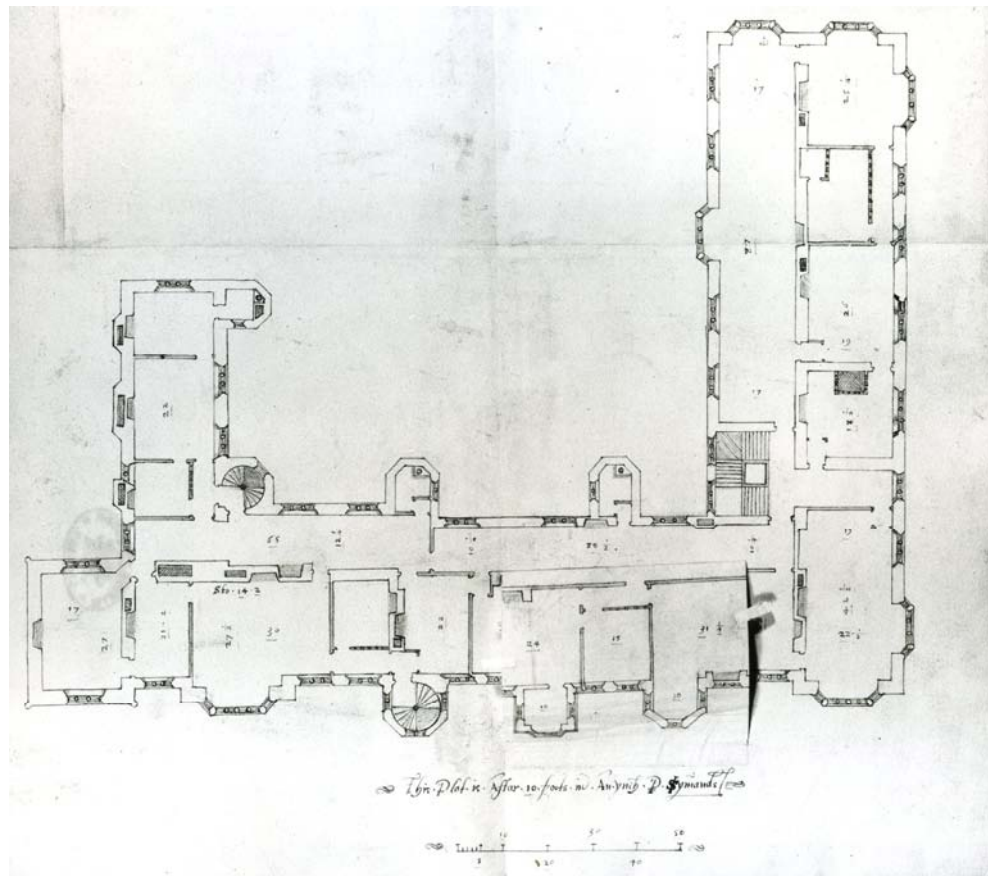


Figure 30: Ground floor plan of Chelsea House by Spicer, c.1595-6

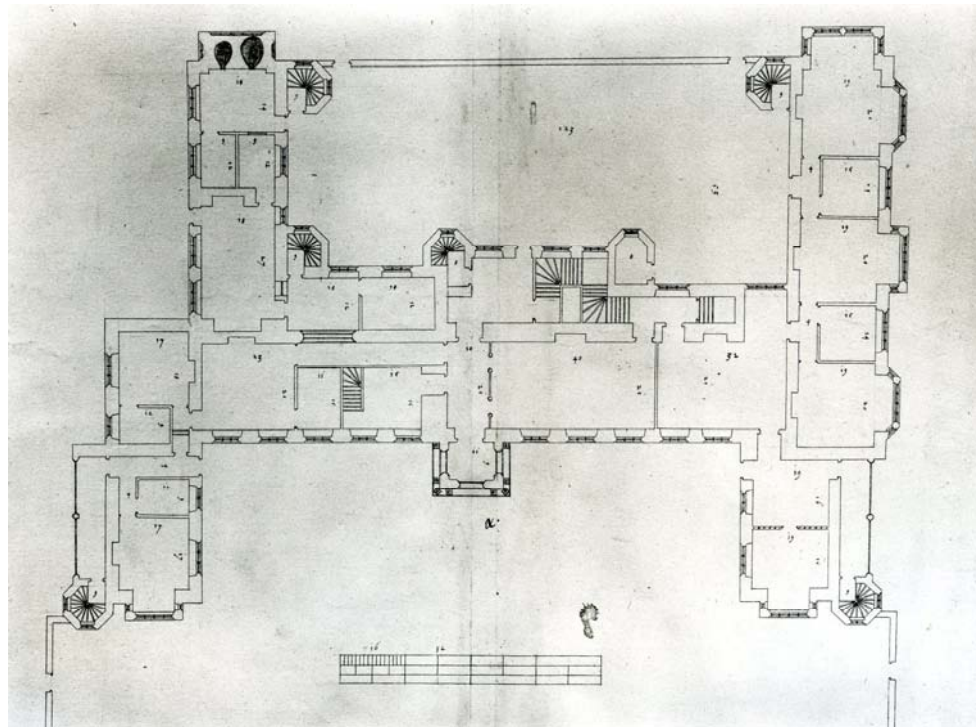


Figure 31: First floor plan of Chelsea House by Spicer, c.1595-6

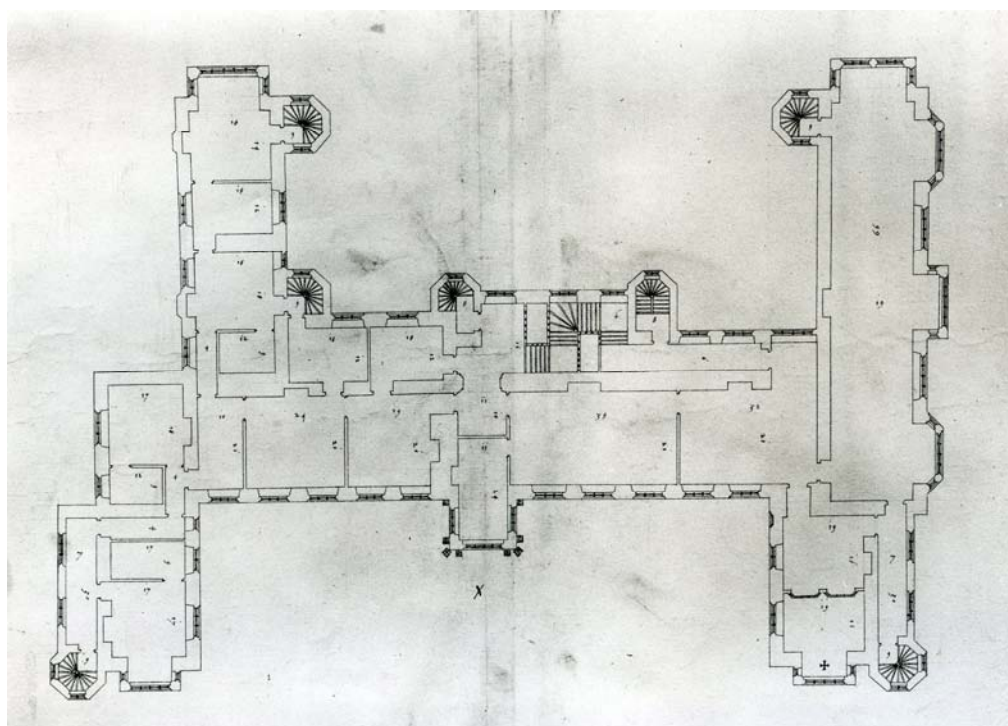
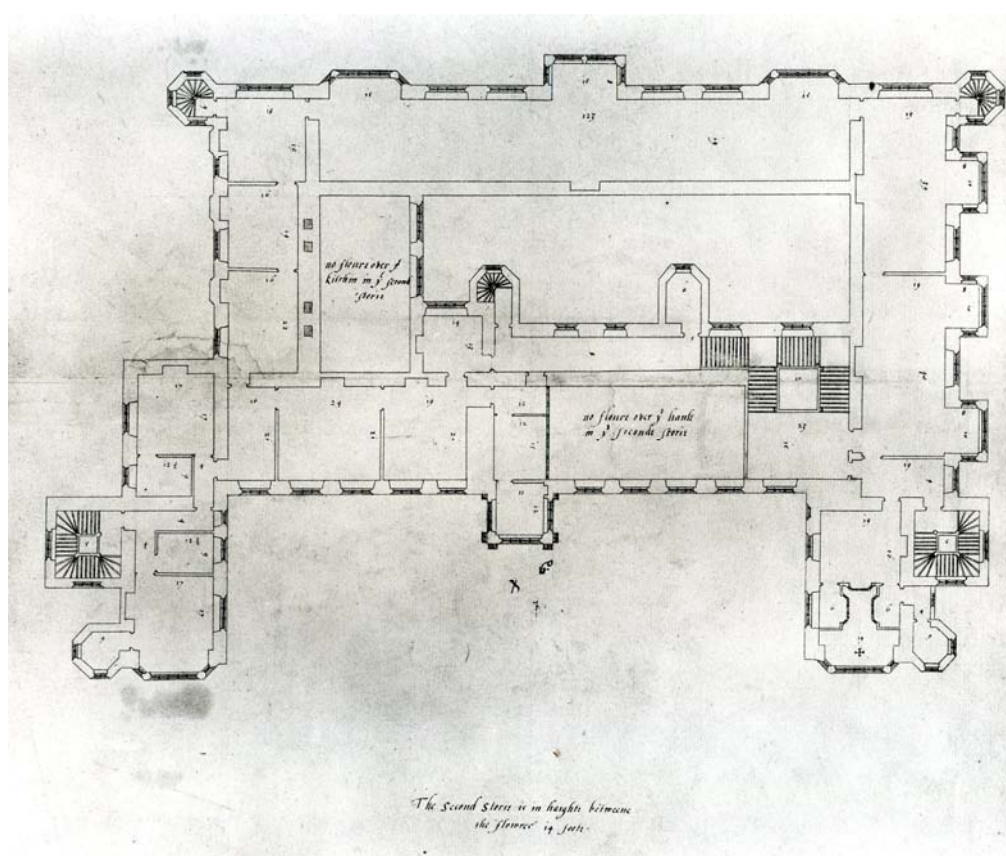


Figure 32: Alternative first floor plan of Chelsea House by Spicer, c. 1595-6



The house itself was 'situated about half way between the Thames and the King's Road', and Cranfield added to the estate by purchasing Dovecote close, roughly five acres, which was to the north-west of the house adjoining the gardens of John Danvers on the south side.¹⁷⁸ He also purchased land which lay on the opposite side of the king's highway to the north, namely Brick Barn Close and The Sandhills, from which he created a park.¹⁷⁹ The park was built upon after 1717, by which time the house was called Beaufort House, after Henry, Duke of Beaufort, who had purchased the property in 1682.¹⁸⁰ The last owner of the house was Sir Hans Sloane who bought it in 1737. During Sloane's occupation of the house it was clearly not the resplendent residence it had once been, with 'large pieces of ceiling ... fallen on the floor.'¹⁸¹ Sloane was told the house would cost £500 to repair so he sold it 'to be pulled down by the purchaser, and all the materials carried off the spot.'¹⁸² After the purchaser 'fled to the covert of royalty' Sloane consulted his lawyers and once again became master of Beaufort House.¹⁸³ It was then in a 'mutilated condition' after parts of the fabric had been sold off before the sale of the property fell through.¹⁸⁴ Therefore the house was still demolished, but under the supervision of Sloane himself, between 1739 and 1740.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁸ Edmund Howard, *A narrative of some of the occurrences in the life of Edmund Howard, of the parish of Chelsea, wrote by himself in the year 1785*, trans. J. Henry Quinn, *Friends' Quarterly Examiner by members of The Society of Friends* 39 (1905): 459-479 (p. 473).

Edmund Howard was Sloane's gardener at Beaufort House; CKS, U269/1 T6 [ON6807].

¹⁷⁹ CKS, U269/1 T6 [ON6807]; U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 26 July 1623; Godfrey, "New Light on Old Subjects IV – Beaufort House, Chelsea and its Neighbours," p. 272.

¹⁸⁰ Godfrey, "The site of Beaufort House," p. 23.

¹⁸¹ Howard, *A narrative of some of the occurrences in the life of Edmund Howard*, 39, p. 477.

¹⁸² Howard, *A narrative of some of the occurrences in the life of Edmund Howard*, 39, p. 478.

¹⁸³ Edmund Howard, *A narrative of some of the occurrences in the life of Edmund Howard, of the parish of Chelsea, wrote by himself in the year 1785*, trans. J. Henry Quinn, *Friends' Quarterly Examiner by members of The Society of Friends* 40 (1906): 49-70, (pp. 50-51).

¹⁸⁴ Howard, *A narrative of some of the occurrences in the life of Edmund Howard*, 40, p. 51.

¹⁸⁵ Howard, *A narrative of some of the occurrences in the life of Edmund Howard*, 40, p. 53.

Cranfield's neighbours in Chelsea consisted of Sir John Danvers, whose gardens can be seen on Kip's view of the house (Figure 34), and Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, with whom Cranfield had earlier dealt with in the wine licenses.¹⁸⁶ Nottingham leased the Manor House from the Crown, being the house that Henry VIII had purchased and bestowed on his last queen, Catherine Parr, due to her love of the gardens there. Many other courtiers and crown officials had stayed at the house and therefore raised the village's profile as a highly desirable place for the elite to live.¹⁸⁷ Sir John Lawrence also lived in Chelsea in the old Manor House, and went on to supervise the installation of water pipes for Cranfield's house at Wiston.¹⁸⁸

A plan in the numerous drawings by John Thorpe, which has been firmly suggested as being of Chelsea House, is a key document in revealing the modifications that Cranfield made to the residence (Figure 33). Thorpe's plan correlates with Kip's later view of the house, and among other similarities, it has been noted that 'both drawings show the two square lodges set anglewise about the gate that divides the two front courts.'¹⁸⁹ The plan is not dated but is included in a collection of plans for Danvers House, which was situated next door to Chelsea House and was built by Sir John Danvers between 1622-3. It seems probable that whilst Thorpe was in the vicinity composing plans for Danvers House he may also have taken the opportunity of drawing plans for Chelsea House at the same time.¹⁹⁰ It was during this narrow time period that Cranfield resided at Chelsea, suggesting he may have commissioned Thorpe to propose alterations to the

¹⁸⁶ Croot, "Settlement and building: Chelsea up to 1680," pp. 19-20.

¹⁸⁷ Croot, "Settlement and building: Chelsea up to 1680," pp. 19-20.

¹⁸⁸ Walter H. Godfrey, "No. 1, Justice Walk, and Lawrence Street," in *Survey of London 4: The Parish of Chelsea*, Part 2, ed. Walter H. Godfrey, (London: London County Council, 1913): 58-9, (p. 58). For the installation of the water pipes see Chapter 7, pp. 409-10.

¹⁸⁹ Godfrey, "Beaufort House, Chelsea, and its Neighbours," p. 272.

¹⁹⁰ Godfrey, "Beaufort House, Chelsea, and its Neighbours," p. 272.

Using the plan alongside the steward's cash book and builders' bills and receipts certain improvements commissioned by Cranfield can be identified. J. A. Gotch identified that Thorpe's plan included one of the first examples of the corridor or passage of modern times.¹⁹¹ The Bricklayer James Milton's bill dated December 1623 listed making a step in 'the new passage', suggesting that the passage Gotch identifies could have been installed by Cranfield.¹⁹² The rooms to the north of the passage on Thorpe's plan are likely to be the 'lower roomes next the Garden' which are frequently mentioned in Catchmay's cash book as being worked on, suggesting Cranfield transformed the back section of the house.¹⁹³ The kitchen is labelled on Thorpe's plan as being in the back section of the house and this, too, appears to have been updated by Cranfield as an inventory of goods taken from Chelsea to Copt Hall stated some goods which came out of the 'wardrobe over the new kitchen'.¹⁹⁴ The pastry which lies next to the kitchen on Thorpe's plan is also described as 'newe' in Cranfield's accounts, supporting Walter Godfrey's claim that Cranfield may have pulled down and re-modelled the northern wing of the house.¹⁹⁵

Other evidence confirms the fact that Cranfield constructed new edifices at his Chelsea home, such as the disbursement of £40 by Thomas Catchmay in July 1623 to Mr Bryce, carpenter, 'towardses the charge of the newe buildings'.¹⁹⁶ These buildings, presumably separate from the main structure of the house, were probably the 'two new Lodges'

¹⁹¹ Godfrey, "Beaufort House, Chelsea, and its Neighbours," p. 272.

¹⁹² CKS, U269/1 AP 58.

¹⁹³ CKS, U269/1 AP 43, 9 and 20 January 1623, 3 February 1623, 28 March 1623, 19 April 1623, 23 and 24 May 1623, 23 and 24 June 1623, 3 July 1623.

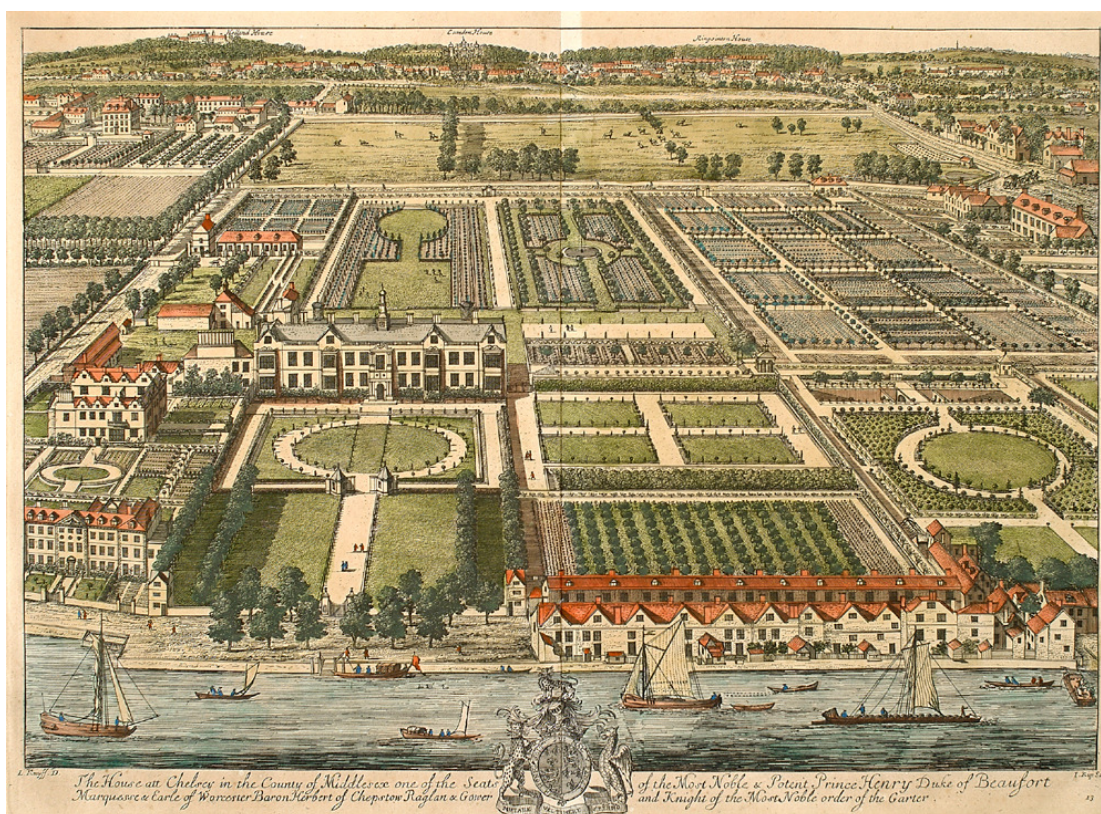
¹⁹⁴ CKS, U269 E198/2.

¹⁹⁵ CKS, U269/1 AP58, 1 December 1623; Godfrey, "Beaufort House, Chelsea, and its Neighbours," p. 272.

¹⁹⁶ CKS, U269/1 AP43.

which were fitted with ‘three ffoote paces ... and ye harthes’ later that year.¹⁹⁷ Thorpe’s plan, of course, presents two angled lodges adjoining the gate into the inner green court. The lodges constructed by Cranfield’s craftsmen, could then not only be the ones visible in Thorpe’s plan but may have still been in existence at the turn of the eighteenth century, as identified in Kip’s view (Figure 34).

Figure 34: Beaufort House, Chelsea, by Johannes Kip, 1708



The payment to Bryce for the new buildings was issued ‘according to certain articles of agreement made betwixt him and M^r S^rveor.’¹⁹⁸ This surveyor whom the carpenter was working under was almost certainly Inigo Jones who had already commissioned other craftsmen to work on the house, and appears to have overseen the major building works

¹⁹⁷ CKS, U269/1 AP58, December 1623.

¹⁹⁸ CKS, U269/1 AP43.

carried out at Chelsea by Cranfield.¹⁹⁹ Jones also designed the most famous addition to Chelsea House during Cranfield's occupation which was the Doric gateway (Figure 35).²⁰⁰ The gateway now stands at Chiswick House, where it was appropriated by Lord Burlington from Sloane during the period of neo-Palladianism he championed in the early eighteenth century (Figure 36).

Figure 35: Design for a gateway at Chelsea by Inigo Jones, 1621



¹⁹⁹ See Chapter 5, pp. 254-5.

²⁰⁰ See Chapter 4, pp. 182-3.

Figure 36: Inigo Jones gateway now at Chiswick House, c.1900

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iv) *Wiston House, Sussex* (O.S. Map ref. TQ1549912416)

Wiston House stands in the picturesque countryside to the north of the South Downs in West Sussex. Not far from the town of Arundel, Cranfield entertained his neighbour Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, at Wiston in 1630, impressing him with his new

water works at the house.²⁰¹ Arundel and other members of the Sussex nobility, however, spent less time at their country estates after the 1620s, being mainly at court, and in Fletcher's words 'no longer controlled the county'.²⁰² Cranfield, no doubt, took little interest in county issues either, himself using Wiston only as a holiday retreat. It is noteworthy that Fletcher does not once mention Cranfield's possession of a grand country manor in Sussex, although he does mention Wiston in connection with the Earl of Thanet, who was to buy Wiston from Cranfield.²⁰³ It is true that Cranfield's modification of Wiston is not of comparable note to his work at his other houses, but his possession of the house and the improvements he made do merit at least a brief account.

Thomas Shirley began building Wiston House around 1573, but his later debts meant that the property was confiscated by the crown on numerous occasions.²⁰⁴ It was after Shirley's son, Thomas II, fell behind on the annual payments he was to make to the crown that James rewarded his favourite the Earl of Somerset with the manor in 1615.²⁰⁵ Somerset, however, fell from grace just after this transaction and the Shirleys attempted to regain their family estate by agreeing with Somerset to pay him £10,000. However, Thomas Shirley could only find £3,000 which left both the Shirleys and Somerset in limbo. Cranfield, the opportunist, saw a deal and gained the property for £12,400, £7000 of which was to be paid to Somerset and £5,400 to Shirley.²⁰⁶ The Shirleys wrote to Cranfield thanking him for his 'honourable dealing' in the matter, whilst Somerset wrote to inform Cranfield that he only owed him £7000 not £7550 which had been mentioned, but for the £7000 he urged Cranfield for a 'speedy

²⁰¹ CKS, U269/1 E65, 30 June 1630; Prestwich, p. 521.

²⁰² Anthony Fletcher, *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660* (London: Longman, 1975), p. 23.

²⁰³ Fletcher, *Sussex 1600-1660*, pp. 109, 333

²⁰⁴ White, "Wiston House remodelled".

²⁰⁵ Prestwich, pp. 390-1.

²⁰⁶ Prestwich, p. 391.

dispatch'.²⁰⁷ At the time Somerset wrote to Cranfield he had already received at least £3074 19^s from him, but was obviously keen to receive the rest of the money as quickly as possible.²⁰⁸ He had, however, only received another £904 4^s by November 1624, over a year after he wrote to Cranfield.²⁰⁹ Whilst still paying for the estate, in 1623 Cranfield valued Wiston at £15,000, giving him a profit of £2600 in just one year.²¹⁰

White comments that Cranfield 'promptly put in hand to finish what Shirley had begun, though whether to Shirley's design or not is unknown.'²¹¹ Cranfield shipped in stone to finish the court, and repaired the house windows, the church, and the watermills.²¹² After this initial work Henry Ayre, steward at Wiston, wrote to Cranfield in the summer of 1628 asking him to visit and give direction on what building works should go ahead. Ayre reported that the house was 'much decayed' and that after harvest, when he could once again find workmen, he was 'to take downe six other rotten decayed romes, and to erect as many new in ther places.'²¹³ Cranfield, notably, never sealed over the hall, a very common practise in Elizabethan and Jacobean England. However, this was probably due not only to the fact that he spent little time at the house, but also because the hall displayed a magnificent hammer beam roof (Figure 37).²¹⁴ Although these types of roof were traditional, classical ornamentation could be added later by joiners, a process that happened at Wiston, possibly under Cranfield's instruction.²¹⁵ It seems that the house was simply updated by Cranfield rather than re-modelled with Ayre reporting

²⁰⁷ CKS, U269/1 E63 [ON1000;6886;6887]; U269/1 E64 [ON1148], 17 July 1623.

²⁰⁸ CKS, U269/1 E89 [ON7365].

²⁰⁹ CKS, U269/1 E89 [ON7365].

²¹⁰ Prestwich, p. 392.

²¹¹ White, "Wiston House remodelled," p. 241.

²¹² CKS, U269 M102/2, 1623-5.

²¹³ CKS, U269/1 E65, 25 August 1628. The coach house, barn, and other outhouses were also being repaired at Wiston at this time.

²¹⁴ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 368.

²¹⁵ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 368, similar embellishments were added to the roofs of Longleat, Wollaton and Burghley.

that he would ‘doe onely that, wch of necessitye must be donne.’²¹⁶ Household goods were sent from London to Wiston in July 1629, indicating that the house was more habitable by this time.²¹⁷

Figure 37: The hammer beam roof in the hall at Wiston



In 1634 Cranfield sold Wiston to John Tufton, the Earl of Thanet, and it is from Tufton’s period of ownership that several images of the house survive.²¹⁸ In May 1639 a map of Wiston and its environs was plotted by Henry Bigg, surveyor, for Tufton, which lists Wiston Place as containing sixty-six acres, two roods, and ten perches (Figure 38).²¹⁹ The outline of the house itself on the map matches the drawing by Wencelaus Holler, c1635, with both showing the chapel to the south east of the main house (Figure

²¹⁶ CKS, U269/1 E65, 25 August 1628.

²¹⁷ CKS, U269 E272/1.

²¹⁸ Prestwich, p. 506.

²¹⁹ West Sussex Record Office, MSS 5591.

39).²²⁰ The courtyard house became a half-H plan in the mid eighteenth century when the east front containing the gatehouse, which is the subject of Hollar's sketch, was torn down. Further alterations were made in the 1830s when Edward Blore designed a new south front.²²¹ Consequently little is left of the house in which Cranfield once spent his summers.

Figure 38: Detail of map of Wiston by Henry Bigg, 1639



²²⁰ The drawings will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

²²¹ Nairn and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Sussex*, pp. 383-3.

Figure 39: *Wiston Place* by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1635



v) *Copt Hall, Essex* (O.S. Map ref. TL4301701463)

Prestwich extols Copt Hall as a ‘fitting retreat for the Lord Treasurer’ due to its size and proximity to London.²²² Just like Hertfordshire, Essex was in many ways ‘the capital’s playground’, where courtiers and royalty could establish country residences where they could entertain and hunt, but be within easy distance of Whitehall if an emergency arose.²²³ Despite being in different counties Cranfield’s estates at Pishiobury and Copt Hall were not far from one another as Copt Hall lay on the western border of Essex and Pishiobury slightly further up on the eastern border of Hertfordshire.

Cranfield’s purchase of the house was a complex affair involving the Duke and Duchess of Richmond and Lennox and a status hungry Lady Elizabeth Finch, daughter of Sir Thomas Heneage. Copt Hall had been granted to Thomas Heneage in 1564 by Queen Elizabeth and it was Heneage that drastically remodelled the property, which remained

²²² Prestwich, p. 387.

²²³ Pevsner, *Essex*, rev. ed. by Bettley, p. 2.

little changed until it was taken down in 1748 by Edward Conyers.²²⁴ Heneage's daughter married Sir Moyle Finch in 1573 but was left a widow (albeit a rich one) in 1614 after his death. Despite her wealth, it was status that Lady Finch desired; she desperately wanted to become a Viscountess. It was around this time that the Lennoxes, who had been granted a barony to alleviate their debt, were having trouble finding someone to pay for this honour.²²⁵ Lady Finch was willing to give Copt Hall in exchange for the title and the Lennoxes found in Cranfield a man looking for a country seat. Ingram was appointed as the broker between the three parties and negotiations were carried out. Copt hall was priced at £13,000 but Cranfield gained it in the end for only £7,000 cash and £1,500 in offices. The Duke of Richmond and Lennox acknowledged on 30 December 1623 that he had received £1,000 from Cranfield, which added to the previous payments totalling £6,000, was in 'full satisfaction of and for the Copthall Messuage and Park of Copthall.'²²⁶ This document was witnessed by Ingram. The Duke, then, was content with the money he received from Cranfield. The Duchess, however, was a different character altogether. After her husband's death the Duchess complained to Cranfield in numerous letters that he had not paid enough. She demanded a further £8,000 from Cranfield, reasoning that 'I think no body doth imaigen that my lord would move the king to make a lady a viscountis and all hir children capeable of that honor for seven thousand pounds and them hangings.'²²⁷ It was 'them hangings' which were to prove a bone of contention between the Duchess and Cranfield. Cranfield had hoped to find the hangings at Copt Hall when he arrived, but the Duke had taken them with him, causing Cranfield to nearly call off the whole deal, which Ingram

²²⁴ Newman, "Copthall, Essex," p. 18.

²²⁵ Sir Robert Robartes had refused to buy the title, Prestwich, p. 413.

²²⁶ CKS, U269 E198/1.

²²⁷ CKS, U269/1 E46, 13 September 1624.

managed to prevent.²²⁸ The Duke's love of the hangings is conveyed in the Duchess' letter to Cranfield when she remembers how he had 'wisparde me in the yeare haveing bin a talking of them hangings aloude he then saide that if he and I died without children that then such a creature should have them hangings'.²²⁹ The Duchess did not squeeze any more money out of Cranfield, but he had only fallen short of the initial £13,000 asking price by £700 when other factors are considered, such as the payment of £3,000 the Duke and Duchess received from the Exchequer, along with the lease of the Greenwax patent with profits of £1,500 a year.²³⁰ As Prestwich notes, Cranfield had no 'guilty feelings' about the payment from the Exchequer which meant the Crown was aiding his acquisition of a country residence.²³¹ This is very ironic considering his role in the retrenchment of the royal household.

Heneage had obviously constructed the house with a visit from Queen Elizabeth in mind and Cranfield's later inventory of the house records a queen's chamber.²³² Elizabeth did visit the house once, and this was more than most monarchs visited the houses which had been largely created for their needs by prominent courtiers.²³³ Summerson has noted that many of the grandest houses were built especially to receive royalty and that this obviously affected the number of lodging chambers required.²³⁴ Cranfield, then, had bought a house which had been large and impressive enough to receive the queen of England. Cranfield did not carry out extensive alterations to the house but further evidence supports the fact that it was already a noteworthy house when Cranfield bought it. In 1603 the ninth Earl of Northumberland had written to Cecil that he was to

²²⁸ Prestwich, p. 415.

²²⁹ CKS, U269/1 E46, 13 September 1624.

²³⁰ Prestwich, p. 415-7.

²³¹ Prestwich, p. 416.

²³² CKS, U269/1 E16.

²³³ Newman, "Copthall," p. 19.

²³⁴ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, pp. 58-9.

‘go and see Copthall, for now I am a builder I must borrow of my knowledge somewhat out of Theobalds, somewhat out of every place of mark where curiosities are used.’²³⁵

Cranfield’s Essex residence, in being compared with Theobalds and noted for its ‘curiosities’, was a house that would cement his rising social status.

Cranfield, himself, focussed his building alterations on re-positioning the loggia and redesigning the windows.²³⁶ The windows were installed by Baptist Sutton, under the command of Nicholas Stone, in the winter of 1638, whereas the loggia was re-modelled by Cranfield in 1626, almost as soon as he had moved to Copt Hall from Chelsea after his impeachment.²³⁷ Even though Stone advised Cranfield that his gallery windows would be best made of plain glass, although conceding that ‘yor Armes and the diall may well be done’, Cranfield went ahead with his stained glass which not only contained his arms and two dials but also ‘2 ovalls wth the sunnbeames’.²³⁸ Cranfield obviously desired ‘fine coloured windows of several works’ which Bacon recommended for galleries in his treatise *Of Building*.²³⁹

To carry out the work on the loggia Cranfield consulted at least two craftsmen for quotes. Estimates survive from an artisan called Carter which was drawn up on 20 April 1626, and another by Edmund Kinsman, which unfortunately is not dated.²⁴⁰ It is likely that Kinsman’s assessment was taken after Carter’s as Kinsman undercut Carter by £158 4^s 2^d, and was subsequently employed by Cranfield to carry out the work. It is

²³⁵ Cited in Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 66.

²³⁶ Newman, “Copthall,” p. 24.

²³⁷ CKS, U269/1 E54-55; CKS, U269 E199, see Chapter 4, pp. 212-3 for the architectural implications of the re-positioning of the loggia.

²³⁸ CKS, U269/1 E54-55.

²³⁹ Francis Bacon, *Of Building*, (1625), in *Francis Bacon, The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 427-430, (p. 429).

²⁴⁰ CKS, U269 E199; for further information on these two craftsmen see Chapter 5.

clear some work was carried out at Copt Hall before the loggia was re-positioned, as between 1 May and 8 July 1624 ninety-two thousand bricks were made on site by John and William Britten.²⁴¹ No other documents reveal any clues, however, as to what these bricks may have been used for. After the new windows had been installed in the gallery in late 1638, carpentry work was carried out in the room the following year, along with new mats being laid.²⁴² In the early 1640s, extensive work was carried out on exterior buildings, a new stable and cart house being constructed, along with a new cistern for the conduit house.²⁴³

Just as Cranfield did not make any major changes to the architectural structure of the house, it appears his descendents and future owners of the house up until 1748 also retained the main features of the house. The ogee shaped roofs to the turrets at the front of the house, which can be seen on a map of Epping taken in 1634 (Figure 40), still remain in Roger Newdigate's sketch of the house over a century later (Figure 41). These turrets were presumably the ones that were soldered by the plumber Hugh Justice in 1628.²⁴⁴ The plan of the house also remained very similar over the years judging from surviving plots and pictures.²⁴⁵ Despite the fact that the relatively untouched house survived for over a century with little change, it was demolished in 1748 by Edward Conyers, leaving only his brother-in-law Sir Roger Newdigate's drawings, along with other scattered images, as a visual record of its existence.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ CKS, U269 A405/1.

²⁴² CKS, U269 A505/1, Carpenter's Bill 1639; U269 A505/1 Michael Bromfield's bill for mats and other things, 22 February 1640.

²⁴³ CKS, U269 A409.

²⁴⁴ CKS, U269 A505/1, 16 February 1628 – 30 June 1628.

²⁴⁵ The layout of the house will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, pp. 213-5.

²⁴⁶ Newman, "Cophall, Essex," p. 18.

Figure 40: Detail of map of Epping, 1634

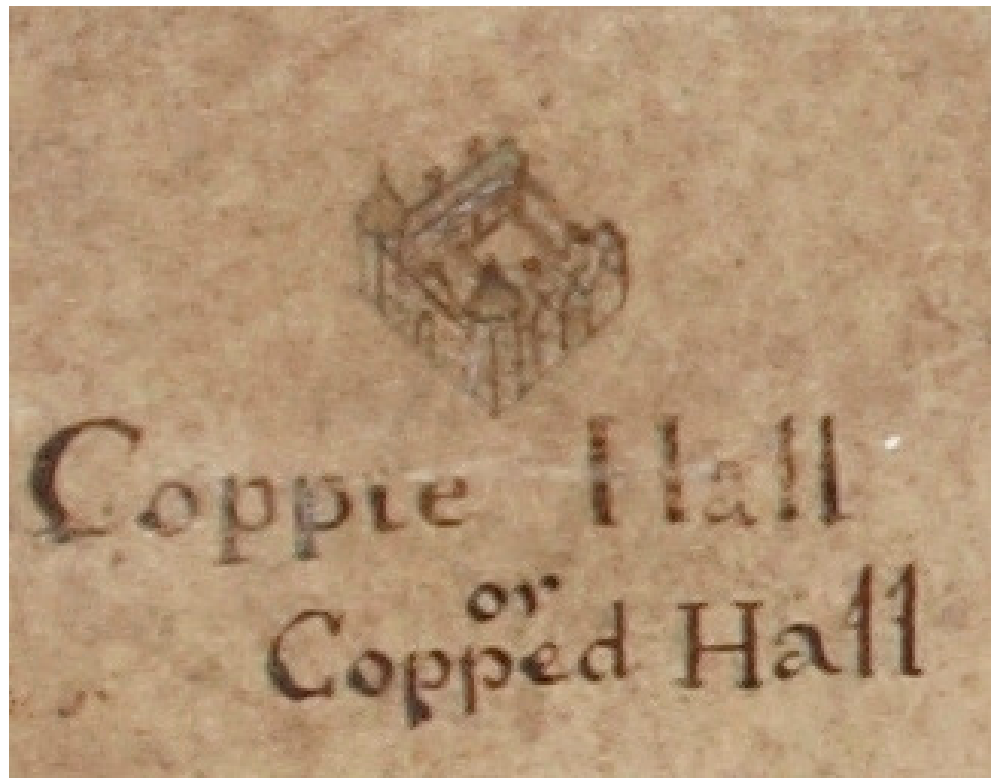
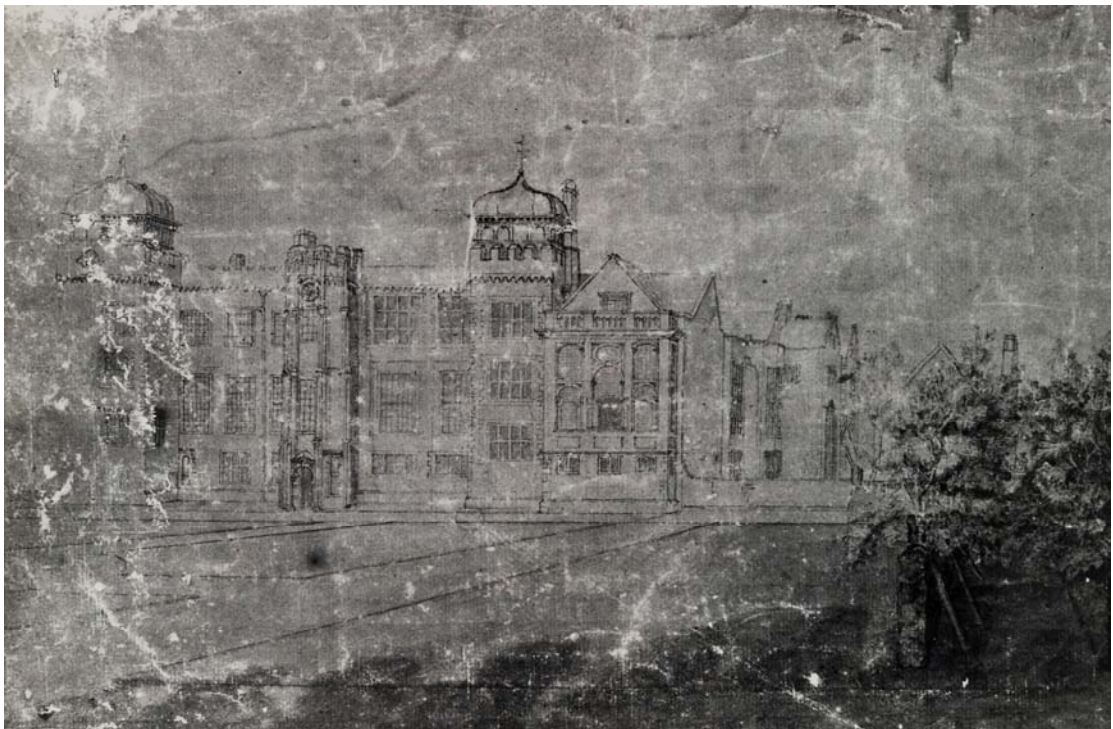


Figure 41: Sir Roger Newdigate's sketch of Copt Hall, c.1740



Cranfield did not sell Copt Hall despite valuing the residence ‘wth the stuffe’ at £20,000 in April 1637, largely because he did not want to lose his last visual manifestation of his elevated status.²⁴⁷ In March 1625 he had only valued it at half the price, and although he did not include any household goods with the earlier valuation it seems unlikely that these would have doubled the sum.²⁴⁸ It can be suggested, therefore, that the work Cranfield carried out on the house after 1625 significantly improved its value. The house remained in the Cranfield family until 1700 when Charles Sackville, Cranfield’s grandson, relinquished the house to ease his debts and transported the furnishings to the Sackville country seat at Knole.²⁴⁹

vi) *St. Bartholomew’s, West Smithfield, City of London* (O.S. Map ref. TQ3188281600)

Not far from his previous City home in Wood Street, St. Bartholomew’s became Cranfield’s last London residence. The parish held many connections for Cranfield, being the home of his grandfather Vincent Randall, and of Sir Walter Mildmay, the builder of the house at Pishiobury. Ingram’s daughter, Lady Elizabeth Bennett widow of Sir Simon Bennett, also resided in the parish at the same time as Cranfield.²⁵⁰ On 17 June 1630 Cranfield acquired the lease of a house in St. Bartholomew’s from Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, for £83 6^s 8^d per annum.²⁵¹ The house was the old Prior’s lodging in the outer court of the monastic buildings of St. Bartholomew’s Priory which was

²⁴⁷ CKS, U269/1 E360.

²⁴⁸ Prestwich, p. 603.

²⁴⁹ For a discussion of some surviving pieces of furniture at Knole that can be linked to Cranfield see Chapter 6, p. 301.

²⁵⁰ E. A. Webb, “The Parish: Inhabitants,” in *The Records of St. Bartholomew’s priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield*, 2, ed. E. A. Webb, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921): 248-291, (pp. 257, 262-5, 277).

²⁵¹ TNA, E192/13/8; U269 A508/1, rent receipts survive from 1631-1637, which record half yearly payments of £41 13^s 4^d.

granted to Richard Rich after the dissolution by King Henry VIII.²⁵² The house was not old however, as the Prior's lodgings had been rebuilt in the sixteenth century by Prior Bolton, as John Stow described in his *Survey of London*, whereby he called Prior Bolton 'a great builder there: for he repayred the priorie church with the parrish Church adioyning, the offices and lodgings to the saide priorie belonging, & neare adioyning.'²⁵³ Between 1612 and 1630 Arthur Jarvais, Clerk of the Pipe, inhabited the Prior's house at St. Bartholomew's and it is from his time of occupation that a survey survives.²⁵⁴ The survey of 1616 lists at least thirty rooms in the main house, including chambers, two chapels, a study, gallery, counting house, dining room and a 'faire hall.'²⁵⁵ It also notes a separate building in 'the south-west corner of the said inner court' which comprises of 'two larders and a cellar for bear and a small convenient room for wood and coales.'²⁵⁶ The house was clearly of a substantial size then, but Cranfield not only leased the house that Jarvais had inhabited but also:

[a]ll that Mansion house buildings chambers cellars sollars vaults and Roomes of the Lord Rich deceased ffather of the said Earl of Holland scituate & beinge in greate Sainte Bartholomews neere West Smithfield London one parte of wch saide Mansion house was late in the tenure or occupacon of Sir John Smith Knight and the other parte thereof in the tenure or occupacon of Arthure Jarvais and [Blank space] Gifford or one of them.²⁵⁷

Cranfield's house in St. Bartholomew's was clearly an impressive abode, showing his desire to maintain his social stature despite having lost his position at court.

²⁵² E. A. Webb, "The monastic buildings: The outer court," in *The Records of St. Bartholomew's priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield*, 2, ed. E. A. Webb, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1921): 159-180, (p. 161).

²⁵³ Webb, "The monastic buildings: The outer court," p. 161; Stow, *A Survey of London*, 2, p. 26.

²⁵⁴ Webb, "The monastic buildings: The outer court," p. 161. A letter from Arthur Jarvis of St. Bartholomew's to Cranfield in 1610, suggests that Jarvis' father-in-law was a tenant of Cranfield's in Wood Street, *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 214.

²⁵⁵ E.A. Webb, "The monastic buildings: The outer court," pp. 162-5.

²⁵⁶ E.A. Webb, "The monastic buildings: The outer court," p. 163.

²⁵⁷ TNA, E192/13/8.

After acquiring the house Cranfield carried out numerous improvements to it. A bill of 1630 by Edmund Kinsman reveals that the kitchen was re-located or a new kitchen built as his account listed a kitchen as well as an 'ould kitchin', whilst new stone floors were laid in both kitchens and the withdrawing room.²⁵⁸ New hall paces, chimneys and ovens were also constructed, as well as work done about the 'Great Gate'.²⁵⁹ In December 1634 the stable and room over the coach house were plastered.²⁶⁰ Numerous carpenters, bricklayers, labourers, and joiners are recorded as working at St. Bartholomew's, although unfortunately the documents do not record the nature of their work, so it is hard to ascertain if they were simply carrying out necessary repairs or if they were involved in any rebuilding Cranfield may have ordered.²⁶¹

Conclusions

From this account of the houses Ingram and Cranfield purchased and modified it is clear that they were keen to use architecture as a way of increasing, and then maintaining, their social stature. The sheer intensity of both men's building campaigns indicates a desire to create great houses both to occupy and to present to the rest of society. Their careers influenced the timing of their purchases and the modifications they could afford, for example Cranfield spent less money on Copt Hall and St. Bartholomew's than he had done at Chelsea as his finances were more restricted after his impeachment. Both men, however, used the business skills they had acquired as merchants to keep the economic aspects of their building within their means, unlike their patrons. They differed in the types of houses they bought, Cranfield buying houses that were already

²⁵⁸ CKS, U269 A451, Bundle A 1630-33.

²⁵⁹ CKS, U269 A451, Bundle A 1630-33; CKS, U269 A508/3.

²⁶⁰ CKS, U269 A508/3.

²⁶¹ CKS, U269 A516/1; CKS, U269 A389/1.

grand and needed less remodelling than Ingram's homes did. This could be due to the fact that Cranfield was purchasing houses in the counties surrounding London which had housed courtiers, and their magnificent homes, for some time, whereas Ingram was buying houses in a region that had a significantly lower concentration of courtiers and therefore possibly contained more houses which needed bringing up-to-date.

The locations of Ingram and Cranfield's country estates reveal their ambitions, as Ingram focussed on creating an identity of a great northern landowner, whereas Cranfield conveyed a desire to compete within regions that were highly popularised by courtiers, both in the counties surrounding London and in suburban London itself at Chelsea. Ingram created his estate in Yorkshire where he had strong family ties whereas Cranfield stayed close to his London roots, having no ancestral links to particular counties. Ingram's northern homes had many impressive features, such as passages to provide privacy, grand staircases for guests to ascend, and the requisite entertaining chambers, such as the grand chamber and gallery. The next chapter will discuss such features in further detail as part of an analysis of the architectural style and design of Ingram and Cranfield's houses for which this synthesis of the men's modifications to their houses has been a preparation.

Architectural style and house plan

Nicholas Cooper has observed that the first surviving English plan of a country house, in Gervase Markham's *The English Husbandman* (1613), showed a hierarchical lay-out with a division between entertaining space and the service area and recognises that the plan reflects the segregation that was found in houses not only for husbandmen but also for the gentry. Cooper further notes that Markham describes how the house could be embellished by those of higher status to distinguish themselves from the lower sorts.¹ It becomes apparent, then, that Markham's belief is that it is style rather than plan which marked out the social standing of the owner of the house. Ornamental decoration on the exterior of a house was certainly a signifier of the rank of the owner and was visible to all, whereas the internal lay-out of the rooms was only discernable to those who were invited into the house. However, as the seventeenth century progressed more innovative designs appeared such as the double-pile and the compact plan, both of which were widely associated with the elite. Therefore, both house plan and architectural style could project the social status of the owner.

4.1 Style

Malcolm Smuts perceptively states that the architecture, among other cultural and social practices, of the Jacobean court was in no way cohesive and he uses the courtyard house of Audley End and Inigo Jones' Palladian banqueting house, built within five years of each other, to prove his point.² Indeed, the eclectic style of the Jacobean period is displayed in Ingram and Cranfield's houses, and it is certainly not the location of their

¹ Cooper, "Rank, Manners and Display," pp. 291-2.

² Smuts, "Cultural Diversity and Cultural Change at the Court of James I," pp. 99-100.

residences that is the most significant contribution to the variety of styles employed by both of them. Personal preference, the craftsmen they employed, the materials that were available, and the status of the house (whether it was newly built or a remodelling of an older building) all played their part in the aesthetics of the house. Ingram's northern properties lacked classical detail when compared to Cranfield's southern homes, but it is clear that deeper investigation is needed before castigating Ingram's houses as examples of northern backwardness.

The building programme of Lady Anne Clifford at her houses in Yorkshire and Cumbria is a case in point, as her remodelling of her ancestral homes has often been criticised for the lack of classical influence.³ However, she had lived at Wilton, encased in its classical design which her husband had commissioned Jones, Webb and De Caus to create, and had access to London craftsmen even after her move north; the style she remodelled her northern castles in, then, was through choice, not ignorance.⁴ In this sense, she projected her image through the style of architecture she employed, a process that many of the elite in the early seventeenth century indulged in, but more often than not to attempt to show their adherence to Classicism rather than their rejection of it. Referring to Anne Clifford's building campaign, Mowl and Earnshaw reason that '[t]his whole northern episode is one of psychological rather than stylistic interest.'⁵ Although Clifford's tastes reflect her personal feelings towards the culture of the court and the style she employs signifies the importance of her ancestral heritage for which she fought

³ Lucy Worsley, "The Architectural Patronage of William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle, 1593-1676," (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 2001), I, pp. 14-5.

⁴ Alice T Friedman, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster and Paint: Lady Anne Clifford as Writer and Patron of the Arts," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent, Studies in British Art 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 359-376, (p. 369).

⁵ Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture Without Kings: The Rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 19.

long and hard against the court, it does not mean that the design of her houses can be dismissed altogether in stylistic terms. Other northern builders also rejected the architectural style associated with the Stuart Court, such as the Cavendishes. Summerson argues that the Smythsons, architects to the Cavendish family, were ‘unable to grasp the essentials of the newer classicism’ and that they ‘betray the reaction of a provincial mind.’⁶ It has been argued, however, that at Bolsover William Cavendish did not employ ‘Artisan Mannerism’, a derogatory term coined by Summerson to indicate a native interpretation of classical design which did not quite hit the mark, but styled the house in the form of ‘Classical Mannerism’, currently in vogue in Western Europe.⁷ Whilst Jones was ‘going back perversely to the pure outdated classicism of sixteenth century Venice’ the Smythsons were breaking rules ‘in a spirit of informed wit, not ignorance.’⁸ Worsley provides further proof that William Cavendish was clearly aware of court fashions but decided to reject them, lucidly displayed in his patronage of Francesco Fanelli, the court sculptor, whom he instructed to create carvings which contrasted heavily with his work for the royal family.⁹ When Cavendish did use classicism in the design of his houses Worsley believes it was more to do with the micro politics of his household than an acceptance of court style: ‘[i]t could even be argued that the arrival of classicism in the architecture of William Cavendish was a metaphor for his attempts to impose order on the household and his connections throughout the region.’¹⁰

⁶ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p. 83.

⁷ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p. 142; Mowl and Earnshaw, *Architecture Without Kings*, p. 169.

⁸ Mowl and Earnshaw, *Architecture Without Kings*, p. 169.

⁹ Worsley, “The Architectural Patronage of William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle, 1593-1676,” I, p. 131.

¹⁰ Worsley, “The Architectural Patronage of William Cavendish, First Duke of Newcastle, 1593-1676,” I, p. 209.

William Cavendish's grandmother Bess of Hardwick projected her identity at Hardwick by displaying her initials in the balustrade of her great house. Lettering on buildings, and particularly in balustrades, is rare and examples only survive at Hardwick, Castle Ashby, Felbrigg Hall, Oriel College, and of course Temple Newsam (Figure 42).¹¹ Although it is tempting to say that Ingram may have been influenced by Bess' use of inscription as Hardwick was not too far from Temple Newsam, it is more likely that he saw the lettering on Northumberland House and/or Audley End (both now demolished) when he was conversing with Henry Howard or Thomas Howard, both of whom he had intricate relations with.¹² Ingram's inscription cements his loyalty to the monarch whilst vividly displaying his virtuous bounty and is one of the clearest ways that Ingram uses his buildings to project his image. Maurice Howard notes that 'when a great house carries a motto or moral message, whether on its walls or along its skyline, it can be supposed that the buildings themselves carry significant messages' and it was not only Temple Newsam which presented Ingram's message to society.¹³ The almshouse Ingram erected also conveyed a clear statement that he was a virtuous gentleman who put his wealth to good use in the community. The style of the almshouse is essentially Jacobean despite being constructed in Charles I's reign. Many almshouses of the period were adaptations of older buildings or built on medieval foundations and therefore often conformed to the traditional courtyard plan. Not only did this conserve earlier buildings, it 'replicate[d] the character and rituals of the households of great late medieval domestic establishments.'¹⁴ Although Ingram did not incorporate parts of older buildings in the construction of his almshouses, or use the courtyard layout, his use of

¹¹ Nicolette Gray, *Lettering on Buildings* (London: Architectural Press, 1960), pp. 63-4.

¹² Gray, *Lettering on Buildings*, p. 64.

¹³ Maurice Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 95.

¹⁴ Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p. 89.

traditional features such as the Gothic arched window (Figure 21) harks back to a past when hospitality had been provided from the medieval home. Gothic windows were employed at the Penrose almshouses in Barnstaple, which were founded in 1627, to distinguish the chapel and the boardroom.¹⁵ This could be another reason for Ingram's instalment of the Gothic window, to define the chapel area of the almshouse.

Figure 42: Inscription on the balustrade at Temple Newsam



In opposition to the traditional architectural styles present in Jacobean England stood Inigo Jones, the first so-called architect who embodied classicism. His first-hand knowledge of antique buildings, acquired through his travels to Italy, elevated him above other 'architects' of the period.¹⁶ Timothy Mowl remarks that he himself had, like many, believed Jones to be 'a towering figure' of Caroline architecture, until, that was, he looked back to Elizabethan and Jacobean architecture, and realised that Jones was

¹⁵ Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p. 92.

¹⁶ See Chapter 5 for a full discussion of the use of the term 'architect', and a detailed evaluation of Jones' career.

‘an insidious courtier who brought rules to ruin imagination and chained down a vital national culture.’¹⁷ Jones was seen as an innovator as he was the first to introduce true Classicism to England, but as Mowl argues, the rules that characterise Classicism seek to ‘stultify[...] innovation’.¹⁸

Jones designed the gateway for Cranfield’s Chelsea home, which can be seen in the centre at the top of Kip’s view, leading out onto the King’s Road (Figure 34). The Palladian design, housed in the Royal Institute of British Architecture, is annotated by Jones in the top left-hand corner with the words ‘for the M: of the Wardes at Chelsey./ 1621,’ (Figure 35). The design, obviously a presentation copy, comes from what Higgott believes is a third stage in Jones’ draftsmanship between 1620-1630 in which Jones executed more pronounced outlines using rulers, distinguishing these designs from the earlier freehand sketches.¹⁹ Gateways designed by Jones for Arundel’s house on the Strand and Buckingham’s home in Essex, New Hall, were similar to Cranfield’s, combining rustication with columns or pilasters crowned by a pediment. This style of entrance reveals the influence of Genoese town houses on Jones as well as the designs of the continental architects Palladio, Scamozzi, Vignola and Serlio.²⁰ Cranfield’s gateway is characterised by a ‘broader proportional scheme’ in which Jones adapted the Doric ratios to suit his own stylistic preferences. The gateway, which can now be seen at Chiswick House (Figure 36), displays an even broader design than the original drawing, thus creating a robust structure, whereby balance and proportion is retained

¹⁷ Timothy Mowl, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Style* (London: Phaidon, 1993), p. 8.

¹⁸ Mowl, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Style*, p. 46.

¹⁹ Gorgon Higgott, “Style and Technique,” in *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, eds., John Harris and Gordon Higgott (New York: The Drawing Centre, 1989): 25-29, (p. 26).

²⁰ Gordon Higgott, “Gateway and Entrance Designs,” in *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, eds., John Harris and Gordon Higgott (New York: The Drawing Centre, 1989): 124-5, (p. 124).

despite rejecting the strict rules of ratio used by Palladio.²¹ For Cranfield to have commissioned the ‘single most important person in the history of the arts in seventeenth-century England’, was a great feat which secured his image as a cultured member of the elite.²² It may have been Cranfield’s employment of Jones which led to Henry Wotton’s belief that Cranfield had a ‘noble love of this art [architecture]’ thereby sending him a copy of his book *Elements of Architecture* in 1624.²³

Harris states that Jones was involved with Cranfield some years before his work at Chelsea, when he designed a porch for Cranfield’s house at Pishiobury in June 1615; the documentary evidence having previously been in the Cranfield papers but now missing.²⁴ A few accounts do survive which detail work on the porch at Pishiobury at that date; however they do not make direct reference to Jones, but name Peter Thornton, the carpenter who had previously worked on Cranfield’s house in Wood Street, as the principal craftsman in charge of the work.²⁵ The porch was clearly made of wood, with large quantities of timber being supplied, whilst it appears to have been made in London as carriage costs were paid to transport it to Pishiobury.²⁶ Although the porch included features which suggest a classical design, such as columns, balusters, pendants, pedestals, ‘6 orphins to suport the plansere’ and ‘2 boyes to stande upon the postes’, it

²¹ Higgott, “Gateway and Entrance Designs,” pp. 128-131.

²² John Harris, “Inigo Jones: Universal Man,” in *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, eds., John Harris and Gordon Higgott (New York: The Drawing Centre, 1989): 13-19, (p. 13).

²³ *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed., Logan Pearsall Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), II, p. 285, Letter 406 [April?] 1624.

²⁴ John Harris, “Inigo Jones and Courtier Designs 1616-19,” in *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, eds., John Harris and Gordon Higgott (New York: The Drawing Centre, 1989): 84-5, (p. 84).

²⁵ CKS, U269 A512 [ON4482]; [ON9116]; [ON9117]; [ON9118].

²⁶ CKS, U269 A512 [ON4482]; [ON9117]; [ON9118]. The joiners working for Cecil on Hatfield House also sent finished pieces of work from London to be fitted, see Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 68.

cannot be proven to be connected to Jones.²⁷ One further piece of evidence, however, may suggest Jones had had a hand in the work. This comes from an account book in the papers of Sir Roger Townshend of Raynham Hall, Norfolk, in which he is recorded as visiting Lionel Cranfield's house in October 1619.²⁸ Linda Campbell surmises that this house was Copt Hall. However given that Cranfield did not acquire Copt Hall until 1622, it is more likely that the house Townshend visited was Pishiobury, Cranfield's main country estate at this time. Campbell believes that Townshend visited Cranfield's house on a so-called 'architectural tour' in which he was searching for ideas for his own house at Raynham, which has since been linked to Inigo Jones.²⁹ It is possible, then, that Townshend viewed Cranfield's porch at Pishiobury and its classical design, a characteristic of Jones' architecture, influenced his work at Raynham. Whether Jones designed the porch or not it is clear the architectural devices Cranfield was employing at this time were well-known and even sought out as a template by other aspiring builders.

The figures which embellished Cranfield's porch at Pishiobury were probably putti, (boys in swaddling cloth representing cupid), which contrast vastly with the beasts used to furnish the posts of Ingram's wooden terrace at York.³⁰ Cranfield's use of classical figures, such as the cherubs often displayed in Renaissance art, is much more progressive than Ingram's employment of heraldic devices. Cranfield also desired classic embellishments for his later country residence Copt Hall. The loggia he redesigned was to incorporate 'dubble pilasters', and an entablature comprising 'arckatrive fres and cornish,' (Figure 43).³¹ All these elements were key components of

²⁷ CKS, U269 A512 [ON9116]; [ON9118].

²⁸ Campbell, "Raynham Hall," p. 57

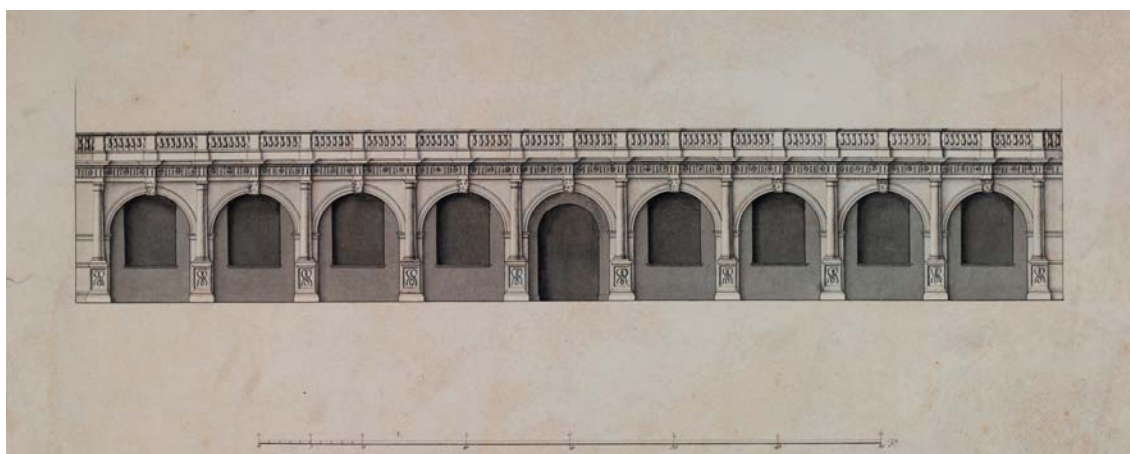
²⁹ Campbell, "Raynham Hall," pp. 56-7.

³⁰ WYASL, WYL100/SH/F3/1, 18 January 1637; for a definition of putti see *OED*.

³¹ CKS, U269 E199, Kinsman's estimate; Carter's estimate 20 April 1626.

Palladianism. Cranfield's accounts reveal further instances of classical features being prepared for him, for example a stone mason was paid for cutting triangles, suggesting pediments were to adorn one of Cranfield's residences.³² Nicholas Cooper states that because 'of the association of classical ornament with ancient nobility, these devices made a statement about their subject that involved both education and morality: a man whose surroundings identified him with approved models of behaviour.'³³ So Cranfield, by using classical architecture, was possibly trying to project an image of himself as a noble man who was knowledgeable and morally sound.

Figure 43: The loggia at Copt Hall



Although Jones did not carry out any work at Ingram's northern residences, certain stylistic features employed at Ingram's homes may have been influenced by him. For example, a 'balcony window' is recorded at Sheriff Hutton in June 1638, which was clearly constructed of iron, the locksmith Empson being paid 2^s for 'bands' for the

³² CKS, U269 A516/1, 20 April 1641.

³³ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 23; see also Jules Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste: The Politics of Architecture and Design in Britain 1550-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 167-9.

window.³⁴ Jones had introduced the ‘Italianate iron window balcony or ‘pergola’ around 1617 when he used it in the design of Sir Edward Cecil’s house in London, and it was emulated by many in the years that followed.³⁵ At York Palace Ingram commissioned John Williamson, the carpenter who constructed the new building in 1623, to ‘make faire doresteds with filletts & crescs over them & dore lidds.’³⁶ The use of fillets and crests indicates that Ingram was keen to have a decorative finish to his doors.

The extant interior features that survive at New Lodge and New Park suggest, however, that Ingram was strongly influenced by mannerism. The wooden door surround which would have stood at the top of the grand staircase at New Park still survives although it has been moved to the entrance hall (Figure 44). The cartouches, strapwork and caryatids carved by Thomas Ventris reveal Dutch influence at work. Similarly, the wooden screen at New Lodge, crafted by Henry Duckett around 1622, features classic ionic columns but these are topped with a frieze that includes a lion’s face, a device that could have derived from Dietterlin’s *Architectura* (1598), (Figures 45 and 46). Although the masks are not identical, it is likely Dietterlin was the source as an exact replication of the lion mask in his *Architectura* is seen in the plasterwork at Temple Newsam in the chapel chamber (Figure 47). Ditterlin was also used as a stylistic source by many other patrons in the area, such as John Cosin at Brancepeth, County Durham, and by the architect John Smythson who employed the German mannerism at both

³⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25.

³⁵ John Newman, “Jones, Inigo (1573–1652),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 02/06/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15017>; ‘Pergulaes’ and at least four balconies were noted at Holland House in Kensington in the accounts for 1638–40 which Ingram oversaw, WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/74.

³⁶ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 27 September 1623.

Bolsover and Wentworth Woodhouse.³⁷ Wentworth, as Ingram's patron, could possibly have influenced the architectural style employed by Ingram, or vice versa. It is clear they stayed at each other's houses and on one occasion in 1634 Wentworth's servants even took plaster to Ingram.³⁸

Figure 44: Carved wooden door surround at New Park



³⁷ Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625*, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 28.

³⁸ *Wentworth Papers 1597-1628*, pp. 185, 241; WYASL, WYL100/EA/15/1.

Figure 45: Detail from the hall screen at Sheriff Hutton



Figure 46: Wendel Dietterlin, Architectura, (1598), p. 192

Image has been removed due to copyright restriction

Figure 47: Plaster frieze in the chapel chamber at Temple Newsam



A wooden pulpit (Figure 48) carved by Thomas Ventriss Junior for the chapel at Temple Newsam features mannerist masks and resembles the pulpit at St John's church in Leeds.³⁹ Ventriss may have been inspired by his colleague Francis Gunby who not only worked alongside him at Temple Newsam but has also been firmly associated with the woodwork at St John's, particularly the wooden screen.⁴⁰ Girouard describes the screen, which was carved in the 1620s, as 'an ebullient exercise, by Yorkshire craftsmen, in the De Vriesian Mannerism that had gone out of fashion in the south.'⁴¹ However, examples of Netherlandish mannerism can be found further south at this time, such as the use of

³⁹ Gilbert, "Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's Reconstruction of Temple Newsam 1622-38," pp. 10-11, when Gilbert published this article in 1963 the pulpit was installed at the Methodist Chapel at Halton but it has now been reclaimed by Temple Newsam.

⁴⁰ Bostwick, "Decorative Plasterwork of the Yorkshire Region," p. 129; WYASL, WYL100/C/2, 316, 14 February 1627; WYL100/EA/13/71/2.

⁴¹ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 430.

strapwork cartouches and grotesque masks on the plasterwork ceiling of the great dining room at Aston Hall, near Birmingham, which was designed by John Thorpe for Sir Thomas Holte.⁴² In the West Country the architect William Arnold used the prints of Jacob Floris and Cornelius Bos in his work at Montacute House, Wolfeton in Dorset and Dunster Castle in Somerset between 1588 and 1617.⁴³ De Vries' influence was still being felt in the south as late as 1640, when his 'rusticated Tuscan order' could be seen in the porch at Holland House.⁴⁴ The painter Matthew Goodrich was paid for painting 'catouses' at this late date, further implying that mannerism was appreciated just as much in the south as the north.⁴⁵ Ingram's use of mannerist style to embellish his buildings, then, was not an example of northern backwardness, but was a matter of personal choice.

Figure 48: Pulpit carved by Thomas Ventris Jnr for the chapel at Temple Newsam



⁴² Fairclough, "John Thorpe and Aston Hall," p. 45; Fairclough (pp. 40-1) states that although the house was begun in 1618 much of the 'finishing' work was not carried out until at least the 1630s, suggesting the ceiling was completed after the wooden screen at St John's was crafted.

⁴³ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p. 55.

⁴⁴ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p. 68.

⁴⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/74.

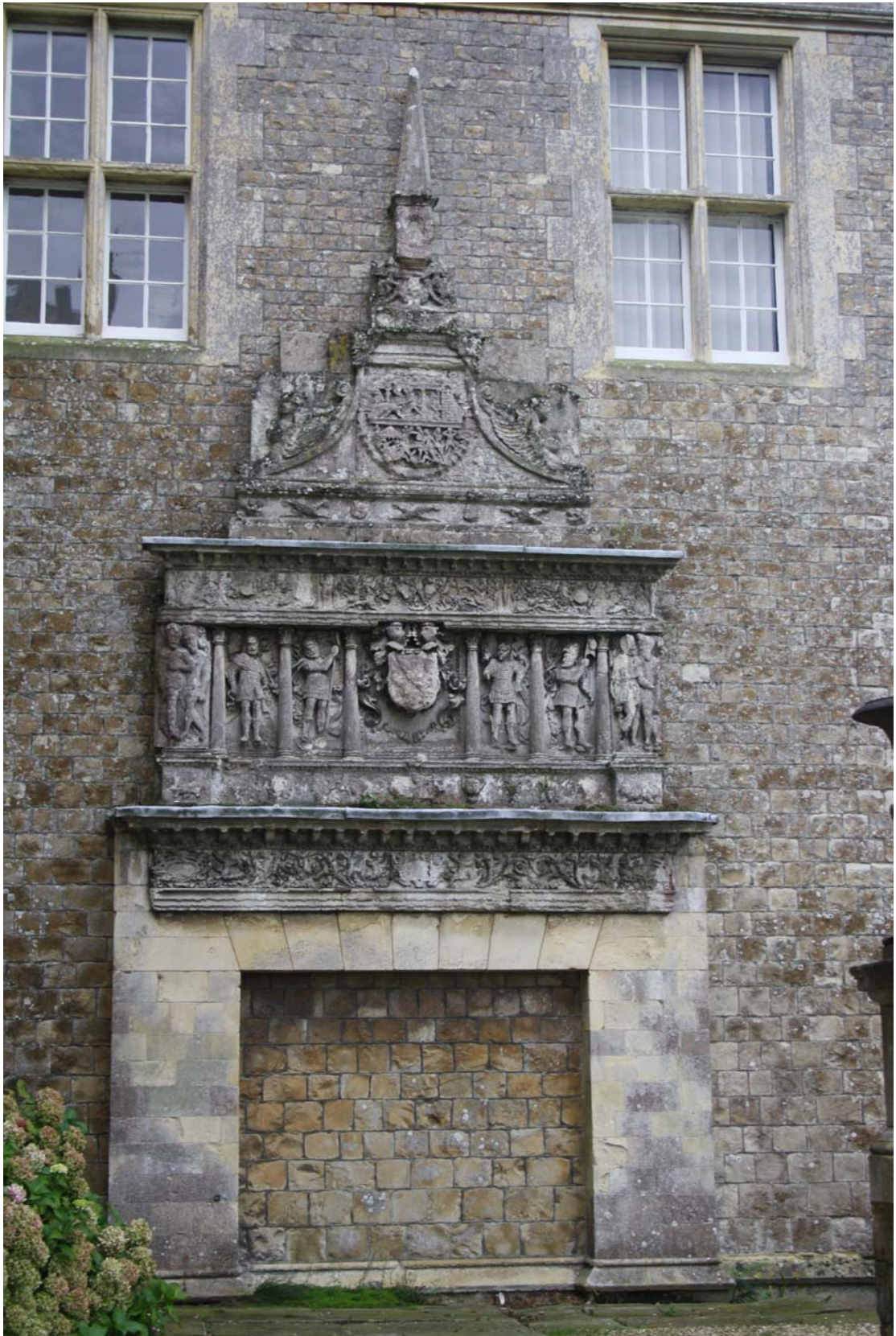
Cranfield does not appear to have been as heavily influenced by mannerism as Ingram. However, at Wiston Thomas Shirley had employed various mannerist conceits which Cranfield probably lived with as his renovations at the Sussex house were not substantial. In the east wing a door case was styled using a design from Cornelius Floris, one of the first Netherlandish artists to work in the mannerist style, whilst a chimneypiece which still survives at Wiston (albeit on an outside wall) featured the nine worthies which were more than likely taken from prints by Maarten de Vos, published by Philips Galle (Figure 49).⁴⁶ The chimneypiece, constructed between 1573 and 1580, (which is believed by Wells-Cole to have originally been at least two chimneypieces) also displays very advanced classical features for the time, making use of Palladio which was published only five years before Shirley began building Wiston.⁴⁷ Although Cranfield would have clearly appreciated these classical features there is some evidence he may also have rated mannerist work. Cranfield commissioned the painter-stainer Rowland Buckett to paint the windows of his blue chamber at Chelsea, and Buckett's signature style was that of 'Italian grotesque', suggesting mannerism played a part in his work.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, pp. 47-8, 115.

⁴⁷ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p. 141.

⁴⁸ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156]; Robert Tittler, "Buckett, Rowland (*bap.* 1571, *d.* 1639)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 02/02/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/101262>.

Figure 49: Chimney piece, c.1570s, Wiston House



The extant plasterwork ceiling and frieze in the ‘Bird and Baby’ room at Sheriff Hutton can be attributed to Francis Gunby, who had plastered the dining room at Temple Newsam in 1626, which Bostwick notes featured several similar devices in the frieze (Figures 50 and 51).⁴⁹ Both friezes are decorated with mannerist strapwork and the one in the bird and baby room features lion masks. The two birds which frame the overmantel in the bird and baby room are reproduced at New Park by Thomas Ventris, albeit in a less refined manner (Figure 52). The plasterwork frieze and ceiling which survives in the ‘Heraldic’ room at Sheriff Hutton, the work of John Burridge, also features mannerist strapwork but the overall design relies heavily on heraldry, as implied by the name of the room (Figure 53). Bostwick notes that heraldry was the over-riding feature in the plaster work ceilings crafted by the North Yorkshire group of plasterers.⁵⁰ Specific motifs used within plasterwork in certain areas of the country can be used to identify teams of plasterers working within a particular region. The Abbott family are well known for their plasterwork within the West Country, and their ceiling designs varied greatly from London ones, confirming again that regional differentiation, and more specifically a metropolitan-provincial dichotomy, overrode the simplistic concept of division between the north and south.⁵¹

⁴⁹ WYASL, WYL100/C/2, 316, 14 February 1627; Bostwick, “Decorative Plasterwork of the Yorkshire Region,” p. 116.

⁵⁰ Bostwick, “Decorative Plasterwork of the Yorkshire Region,” p. 245.

⁵¹ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, pp. 160, 166.

Figure 50: Bird and baby room, Sheriff Hutton



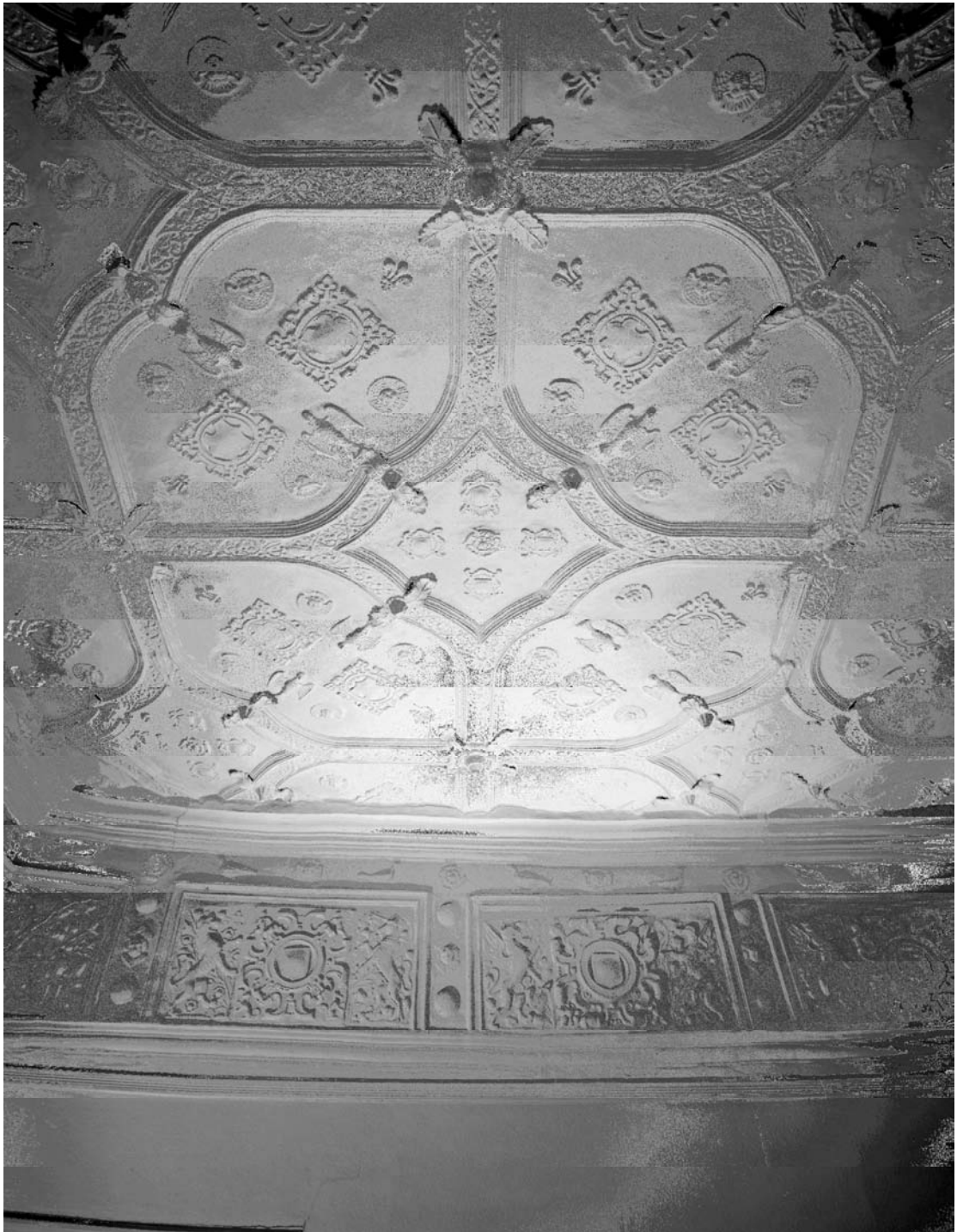
Figure 51: Dining Room at Temple Newsam



Figure 52: Plasterwork ceiling at New Park



Figure 53: Heraldic room, Sheriff Hutton



Ingram also used heraldic devices in his glasswork. The chapel at Temple Newsam featured stained glass panels bearing the Ingram family coat of arms, which were later

installed in the hall at Temple Newsam where they can still be seen.⁵² Figure 54 shows three coats of arms which represent the marriages of Ingram's daughter Elizabeth to Sir Simon Bennet, his granddaughter Elizabeth to Robert Rich, and his son Thomas to Frances Bellasis.⁵³ It appears that Ingram also used heraldry in the glazing of his house at Dean's Yard. On 29 April 1635 £1 was paid to 'Mr Butler ye glasier & ye harrold came' then a further £9 5^s was paid 'to ye man for ye greate glase.'⁵⁴ It is clear that Ingram was prepared to pay a significant sum to install heraldic glass at his home. His coat of arms was also displayed in the stained glass of York Minster (Figure 55). The shields of the Ingram and Greville family are depicted in the second window from the west in the north aisle of the nave bearing the date 1623. This represents Ingram's good standing in the community and was another way of successfully projecting his image as the whole congregation would be able to see his coat of arms and associate it with a man worthy and honourable enough to be displayed in a place of worship. A sketch from the early eighteenth century shows the different emblems for the Ingram family who by this time were Viscount Irwins (Figure 56).⁵⁵ Both the Ingram arms as shown in the Minster window, that of a blue shield with a golden chevron and three gold lions, and the arms as shown in the glass in the hall at Temple Newsam, a shield with a white ermine background horizontally divided by a row of three golden escallops, appear. Although historians have stated that the heraldic glass now in the hall at Temple Newsam was commissioned by Ingram it is more likely that only three of the panels (those of the de Lacy family who were owners of the manor of Newsam in the late eleventh century) were and that the panels that actually feature the Ingram coat of arms

⁵² Gilbert, "Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's Reconstruction of Temple Newsam 1622-38," p. 9.

⁵³ Other coats of arms displayed are Browne belonging to Ingram's first wife Susan, Ferrers belonging to Ingram's second wife Alice, Greville for Ingram's third wife Mary, and Slingsby for Sir Arthur Ingram the younger's wife Eleanor; See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of Ingram's family.

⁵⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

⁵⁵ WYASL, WYL100/F2/1, c.1736.

were crafted after the family became Viscount Irwins in the late seventeenth century.⁵⁶ This would explain the different emblems on the shields in the Minster and the hall at Temple Newsam. This is further supported by the fact both the tombs of Lionel Ingram and William Ingram, both set up in Sir Arthur Ingram's lifetime, depict the coat of arms that is displayed in the York Minster.⁵⁷ Although the use of heraldic motifs and devices in architecture in the early seventeenth century is often seen as old fashioned and more akin to Elizabethan style, both Ingram and Cranfield were the first of their families to gain a coat of arms and were obviously keen to display evidence of their elevated status.

Figure 54: Heraldic glass now in the hall at Temple Newsam



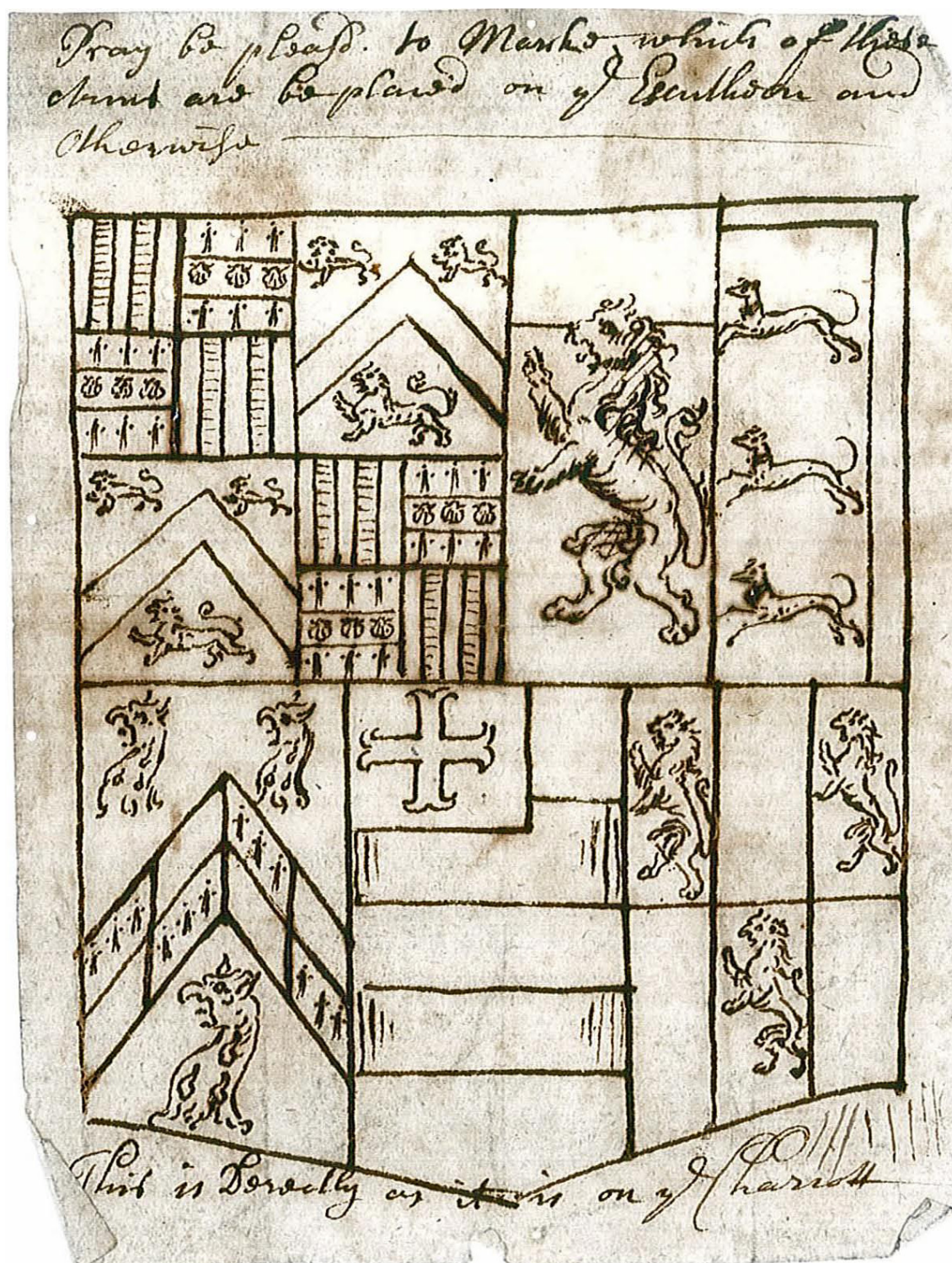
⁵⁶ Gilbert identifies that the three roundels commemorating the de Lacy family are the work of a different hand to the other roundels displaying the Ingram armorials, and he does note that the Rich and Bellasis roundels date from the second half of the seventeenth century. However, he tentatively links the remaining roundels featuring the Ingram arms with the date 1635, see Gilbert, "Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's Reconstruction of Temple Newsam 1622-38," pp. 9-10. However, Wells-Cole suggests that the windows Ingram commissioned for the chapel at Temple Newsam in the 1630s were more than likely installed in the false window in the Breakfast Parlour in 1790 when the chapel was converted into a kitchen and were removed in 1889-91 and are now missing. He also states that the glass depicted religious images rather than armorials, which would seem sensible for glass made specifically for a chapel, see Wells-Cole, "The Dining Room at Temple Newsam," p. 24. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the Ingram armorials now featured in the glass in the hall at Temple Newsam were originally commissioned by Sir Arthur Ingram. Due to the use of the ermine background and escallop emblems on all the Ingram shields in the glass in the hall it is more probable that they were all crafted in the late seventeenth century, possibly to celebrate the creation of the first Viscount Irwin, Henry Ingram, in 1661.

⁵⁷ See below, p. 202.

Figure 55: Heraldic glass in York Minster featuring the arms of the Ingram and Greville families, 1623



Figure 56: Irwin coat of arms, c.1736



Cranfield's tomb which stands in St. Benedict's Chapel at Westminster Abbey features his coat of arms (Figures 57 and 58). This is almost inevitable as most tombs were a

monument as much to the nobility of the family as to the individual's character. Nicholas Stone was involved with the design of Cranfield's tomb and the master-mason often employed heraldic devices to great effect. As Spiers has noted, the monument situated in York Minster that Stone constructed for the Bellasis family, connected to Ingram through marriage, contained a considerable number of shields (Figure 59).⁵⁸ An agreement between Nicholas Stone and Cranfield about constructing his tomb was made in 1639 but Spiers draws attention to the fact that the tomb may not have been actually constructed by Stone himself.⁵⁹ The arms crafted on both the east and west ends of Cranfield's tomb are carved in a 'masterly manner' which compares to the heraldry on the tomb of George Villiers, which was constructed by Stone.⁶⁰ The figures of Cranfield and his second wife, Anne, are in a recumbent position, which was a form that 'retained its status despite modish innovations which repositioned effigies on their elbows, knees, feet or posteriors.'⁶¹ Cranfield's tomb was a fine example of craftsmanship which showed him and his wife in 'pious resonance' with the countess resting a prayer book on her chest, and was a fitting way for the earl to present his image for one last time. Although Ingram was also buried in Westminster Abbey no tomb for him survives. He did, however, have a different form of memorial; shortly after his death his coat of arms was set up over the door of his house in Dean's Yard.⁶² As stated in Chapter 2, whilst Ingram was alive he commemorated his son Lionel with a monument, which can still be seen in St. Stephen's Chapel in the corner of the North Aisle of York Minster (Figure 60). The monument 'inscription [was] to be graven in touchstone', a popular material

⁵⁸ *The note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone*, ed., Walter Lewis Spiers, *Walpole Society* 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919), p. 15.

⁵⁹ CKS, U269 E291/3; *The note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone*, p. 112.

⁶⁰ *The note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone*, p. 113.

⁶¹ Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 100.

⁶² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 6 September 1642.

for plaques at the time (Figure 1).⁶³ The tablet features the family coat of arms and the cockerel is displayed at the top of the monument. Ingram's brother William who died in 1623 also has a monument in York Minster which proudly displays the family cockerel (Figure 61).

Figure 57: Tomb of Lionel Cranfield, c.1639-1647, Westminster Abbey



⁶³ WYASL, WYL100/F4/3; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, p. 204.

Figure 58: East end of Cranfield's tomb displaying his coat of arms



Figure 59: Tomb of Henry Bellasis, 1615, York Minster



Figure 60: Memorial to Lionel Ingram, c.1628, St. Stephen's Chapel, York Minster

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Figure 61: Memorial to William Ingram, c.1623, York Minster



4.2 Plan

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the courtyard arrangement was declining in popularity and often one side of the property was demolished to leave a central range

with two wings projecting at right angles to it, in other words a half-H plan. This form was common in both Ingram and Cranfield's properties. Ingram's New Lodge, situated in the centre of Sheriff Hutton Park, was of this style, as can be seen in the royal survey carried out by John Norden in 1624.⁶⁴ Norden described New Lodge as 'a very fayre new lodge with brick of this forme [there is then a small linear sketch of the half-H shaped building]'.⁶⁵ This description appears on the reverse of the more detailed sketch of the property seen in Figure 62. This image is the only surviving representation of the building from the time and is a valuable source of information. The drawing shows a half-H plan with gabled wings. There also appears to be two turrets on the garden side. A brick wall encloses both the front courtyard and the rear garden. There is a simplistic gateway which is axially aligned with the entrance to the house, complementing the symmetrical arrangement.

Figure 62: Detail from survey of Sheriff Hutton Park by John Norden, 16 June 1624



⁶⁴ See Figure 13.

⁶⁵ BL, Harleian MSS 6288, fol. 2^v.

Ten contemporary plans of the house at Sheriff Hutton still survive. However, these have been discredited by Mrs Egerton, who once owned the house, as she claims ‘they bear no relation to the house as it now is, or could have been, and were evidently various alternative plans, none of which Sir Arthur can have decided upon ... (It would take me too long to explain why the existing ones are *obviously not* the approved plans.)’.⁶⁶ However, Egerton’s view is unconvincing for a number of reasons. She does not explain why the plans do not match up, she gives 1621 as the date which the lodge was built which is clearly inaccurate as it was begun between 1617 and 1619, she believes the brick-maker to be called Mr Armitage when he was called Armstrong, and that it was Sir Arthur’s grandson Thomas who lived at the lodge when it was his son. These consistent inaccuracies suggest that the plans and the existing building need to be reviewed more carefully. However, it was not possible to gain access to the house to compare the documentary evidence with the extant building.

Several of the plans can be identified as the work of Barnard Dinninckhoff (Figures 63 and 64) as they display the same florid script that appears on plans for Sheriff Hutton Castle gatehouse and of the inscription in the painted glass in the chamber at Gilling Castle, North Yorkshire, to which he signed his name.⁶⁷ Dinninckhoff was a German glass-painter and glazier based in York (made free 1586), but it is clear from his plans that he also had architectural capabilities.⁶⁸ The plans do not appear to have been used, however, as the finished building greatly exceeded Dinninckhoff’s drawings, which revealed only five lodging chambers, whereas a parliamentary report of the property

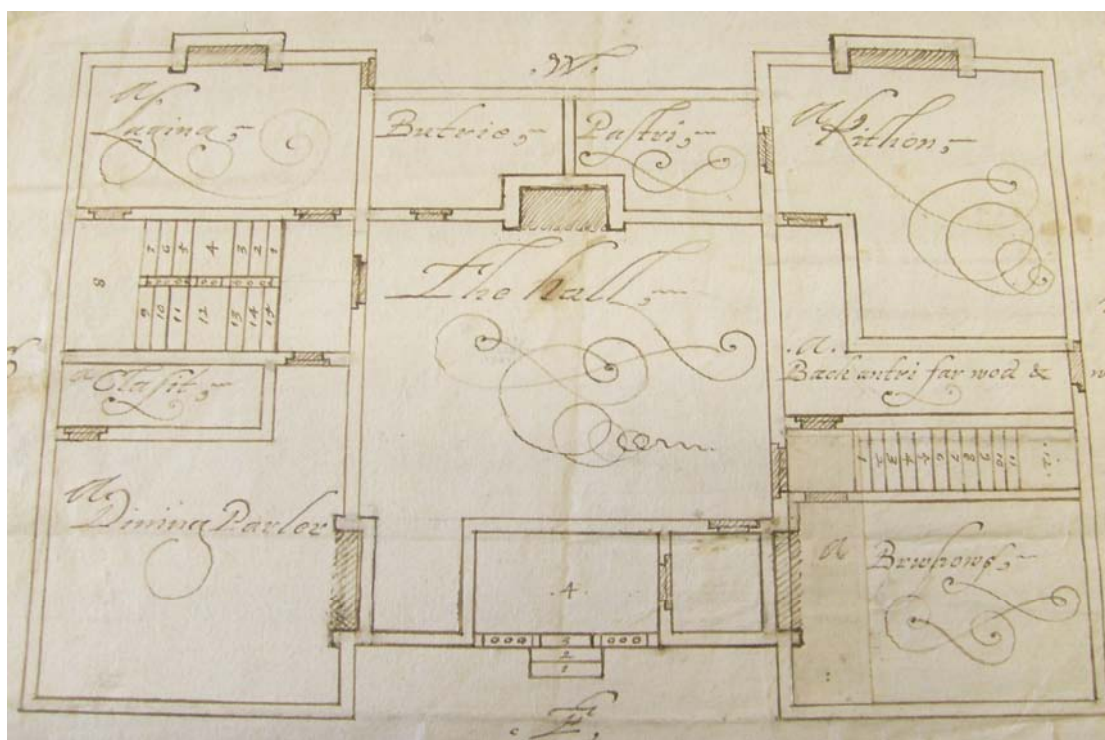
⁶⁶ Egerton, “Sheriff Hutton Park,” p. 6.

⁶⁷ John Trevor Brighton, “The enamel glass-painters of York: 1585-1795,” (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, University of York, 1978), I, p. 7.

⁶⁸ *Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Vol. II: 1559-1759*, ed. Dr. Francis Collins, *Surtees Society* 102 (1899), p. 28. See Chapter 5, pp. 264-5, on Dinninckhoff’s role as an ‘architect’ at New Lodge, Sheriff Hutton.

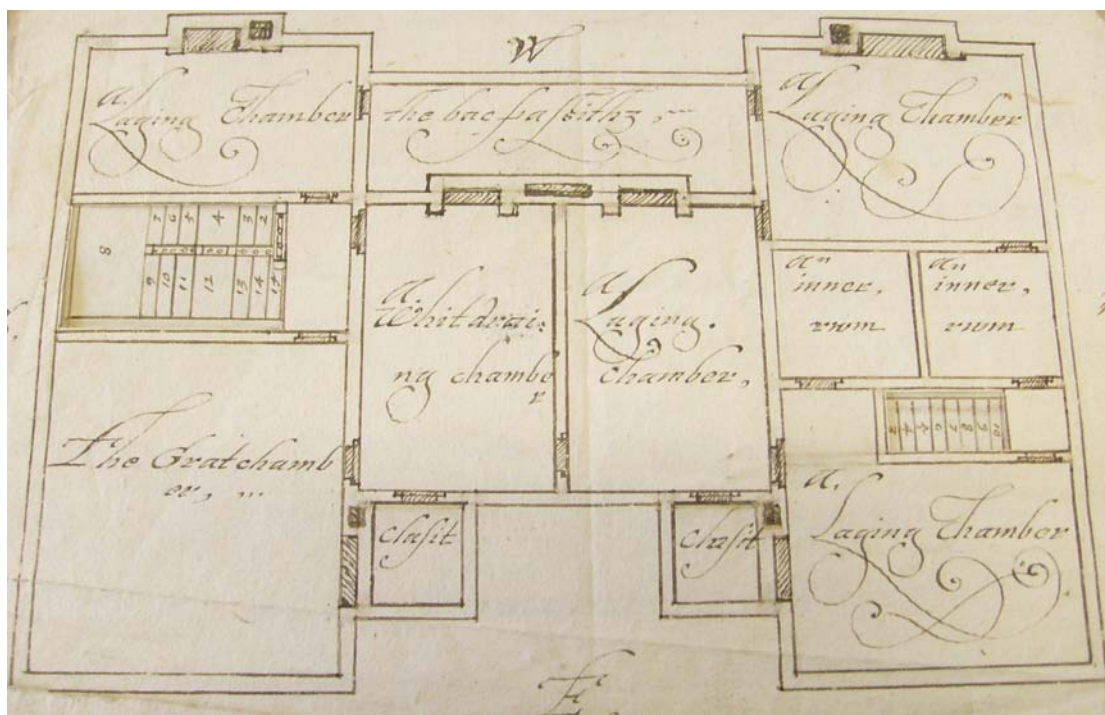
noted sixteen lodging chambers. Although the report was not written until 1650, it is believed that Thomas Ingram and his wife Frances Bellasis, who moved into the property in 1637, were ‘not known to have undertaken any major alterations to the Lodge ... [therefore] the 1650 form of the house was probably still very close to what Arthur Ingram had finished in 1624’.⁶⁹

Figure 63: Ground floor plan of New Lodge by Barnard Dinninckhoff



⁶⁹ Richardson, "The Architectural History of Sheriff Hutton Hall," p. 217.

Figure 64: First floor plan of New Lodge by Barnard Dinninckhoff



Despite Dinninckhoff's original plan being relatively modest, only including fifteen rooms, plus closets and passages, several 'fashionable amenities' can be noted within the design, including a 'concealed entrance in the flank of the hall porch ... a passage to the rear of the central range', and a 'proper sequence of state rooms, with the great chamber lying over the parlour and the dependent rooms over the hall.'⁷⁰ So if the modest plan incorporated these fashionable devices one can assume that the final house did not ignore current trends in design. Indeed, the parliamentary survey noted that the use of the different floors of the house conformed to Italianate design, with the kitchen being below ground floor, 'seaven stepps descendinge from the entrey there is one large and spacious kitchin', whilst on the first floor, the *piano nobile*, ascended by 'very faire and large stayres', there was a 'faire and lofty dineinge Roome, one large lodgeinge

⁷⁰ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 294.

Chamber, a longe and handsome Gallery' and several other lodging chambers.⁷¹ The basement kitchen, modelled on continental design, was not favoured by all, with Henry Wotton believing it was against the English tradition of hospitality, which is discussed in Chapter 6.⁷² The inclusion of a 'dyneinge roome for servants' in the survey of New Lodge further supports the deterioration of communal eating and hospitality.⁷³ It is clear that Ingram's servants at York Palace also ate in a separate area from the family.⁷⁴ Ingram was clearly part of the increasing number of gentry figures who desired greater privacy from their household staff, a desire, which Cooper has observed, led to 'family and servants mov[ing] in opposite directions, away from once-common household areas to regions of their own.'⁷⁵ Ingram's allocation of separate servants' halls also marked him out as progressive in house design as Heal notes that 'separate servants' halls, purpose-built to exclude them from the ordinary hall, scarcely seem to have existed before Sir Roger Pratt advocated the idea so vigorously in the 1660s.'⁷⁶

Ingram adapted Temple Newsam from a courtyard house into a half-H plan by removing the east wing and placing a low wall and gates across the newly open side. Mark Girouard claims that Ingram doubled Temple Newsam in size but this is hard to believe given that he demolished one wing and remodelled the other wings on the ground plan that already existed.⁷⁷ Ingram did fill in the corners where each wing met; creating several new rooms, but there is no evidence to suggest the extensive increase in

⁷¹ TNA, E317/Yorks/54.

⁷² Sir Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, (1624), p. 71.

⁷³ TNA, E317/Yorks/54.

⁷⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25, 9 July 1638, table clothes made for the 'old parler for the steward table.'

⁷⁵ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 11.

⁷⁶ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, Oxford Studies in Social History, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 162.

⁷⁷ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 16 and reiterated on p. 23.

size to the property which Girouard claims.⁷⁸ Although the number of rooms at Temple Newsam increased three-fold from 1565 to 1667, one must be cautious about using inventories which record the number of rooms as evidence that the house had grown in size. Inventories may not record every room, so although the inventory of 1565 for Temple Newsam only records twenty-two rooms this does not necessarily mean that this was the *total* number of rooms in the house, and just because the inventory of 1667 records sixty-six rooms this does not mean that the house was now three times its original size as the increase in rooms may reflect the growing desire for privacy in the seventeenth century which may have led to rooms being divided into smaller spaces.⁷⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, it seems likely that Ingram divided the gallery into smaller rooms, and Wells-Cole has found that other rooms, such as the parlour, were partitioned, further confirming that a higher quantity of rooms does not equate to a larger house.⁸⁰

When Ingram's son Sir Arthur the younger was living at Temple Newsam with his wife Eleanor Slingsby, her brother Sir Henry Slingsby noted in his diary in June 1640 that '[w]e see an emulation in y^e structure of our houses, if we behold at y^t at Tibbalds, & y^t of my Ld of Suffolk's at Audley End. So, in this country my Ld Everie's at Maulton; my Ld Savil's at Howley: Sir Arthur Ingram's at Temple Newson.'⁸¹ Slingsby's observation confirms that house design was an integral part of securing a reputation as a

⁷⁸ Wells-Cole, "Bedrooms and Dressing Rooms," p. 8.

⁷⁹ E. W. Crossley, "A Temple Newsam Inventory, 1565," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 25 (1920): 91-100; WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/11, Although the inventory was taken roughly thirty years after Sir Arthur's re-modifications to the property, there is little evidence that any major rebuilding took place between then and the date of the inventory, suggesting Ingram enjoyed the spacious home just as much as his descendents.

⁸⁰ Wells-Cole, "The Dining Room at Temple Newsam," p. 16.

⁸¹ *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, Bart.*, p. 52. Theobalds was now a royal residence after Cecil exchanged the house with James I in 1607. In return Cecil received seventeen manors, included Hatfield, signifying the high esteem in which Theobalds was held, Gapper, Newman and Ricketts, "Hatfield: A House for a Lord Treasurer," pp. 67-8.

man of high social standing and cultivated tastes, and notes the competitive element of architectural projects. Grouping Ingram with Savile puts him at the highest level of building in the county as Sir Robert Savile and his son John spent at least £30,000 on the construction of Howley Hall, leading Cliffe to believe it must 'have been one of the largest houses in Yorkshire, if not in the country.'⁸² Slingsby himself was keen to emulate London designs, such as the concept of the vista which he had experienced at Holland House, 'I was much taken wth y^e curiosity of y^e house; & from y^t house I took a conceite of making a thorough house in part of Red-house w^{ch} now I build; & y^t by placing y^e Dore so one against another & making at each end a Balcony y^t one may see cleare thro' y^e house.'⁸³ Ingram was heavily involved with the construction of Holland House (see Chapter 5), so presumably had also witnessed the effect of the vista in the design of a house, which he may have employed on his upcoming building project in Yorkshire, at New Park. New Park was advanced in other areas of design, being double pile, so the use of a vista is not unlikely.⁸⁴ However, Colin Platt has noted that it may have been difficult to create a vista when remodelling a house rather than building from scratch, so if Ingram did create a vista it would probably have been in the 'new Addition' which he erected at New Park.⁸⁵

Cranfield's grandest country residence, Copt Hall, was composed of three ranges in a half-H plan, with the fourth side being enclosed by a loggia, a similar form to Temple Newsam. The loggia was already in place when Cranfield procured Copt Hall, as the classical feature had begun to be adopted by builders across England in the second half

⁸² Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, p. 106.

⁸³ *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, Bart.*, pp. 51-2

⁸⁴ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 118.

⁸⁵ Colin Platt, *The Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England: Revolutions in Architectural Taste*, (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 47.

of the sixteenth century, which by the early seventeenth century had led to what Henderson describes as ‘loggia mania’.⁸⁶ However he was to change the direction of it by reversing it so that it faced into the courtyard instead of outwards, which seems slightly strange at a time when the country house was moving away from the constrictive inward looking design and starting to embrace the views of the countryside and surrounding grounds by prioritising an outward vision.⁸⁷ Cranfield’s positioning of the loggia may have contradicted current trends but the architectural style he employed, as described above, clearly adopted the fashionable classical motif. Cranfield not only required the loggia turning round but wished it to be moved twenty feet forward into the base court and lengthened to match the width of the first court, implying he wished the loggia to be axially aligned in relation to the rest of the house.⁸⁸ This new symmetrical re-positioning was essential to match the iconic classical style. The loggia was extended to provide a one hundred and eighty foot facade, roughly sixty foot longer than the loggia at Cecil’s Hatfield House.⁸⁹

Copt Hall is represented in several drawings and plans, but only one of them was from the period of Cranfield’s ownership. John Thorpe’s plan (Figure 65), can be roughly dated to the early 1620s, suggesting it may have been composed around the same time as the plan of Chelsea House.⁹⁰ Thorpe’s plan does not match up to the plans of Copt Hall which were drawn in the 1740s just before the house was demolished (Figures 66 and 67), implying that Thorpe’s drawing was not a survey of the house but more than

⁸⁶ Paula Henderson, “The Loggia in Tudor and Early Stuart England: The Adaptation and Function of Classical Form,” in *Albion’s Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent, Studies in British Art 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 109-145, (p. 111).

⁸⁷ Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, p. 93.

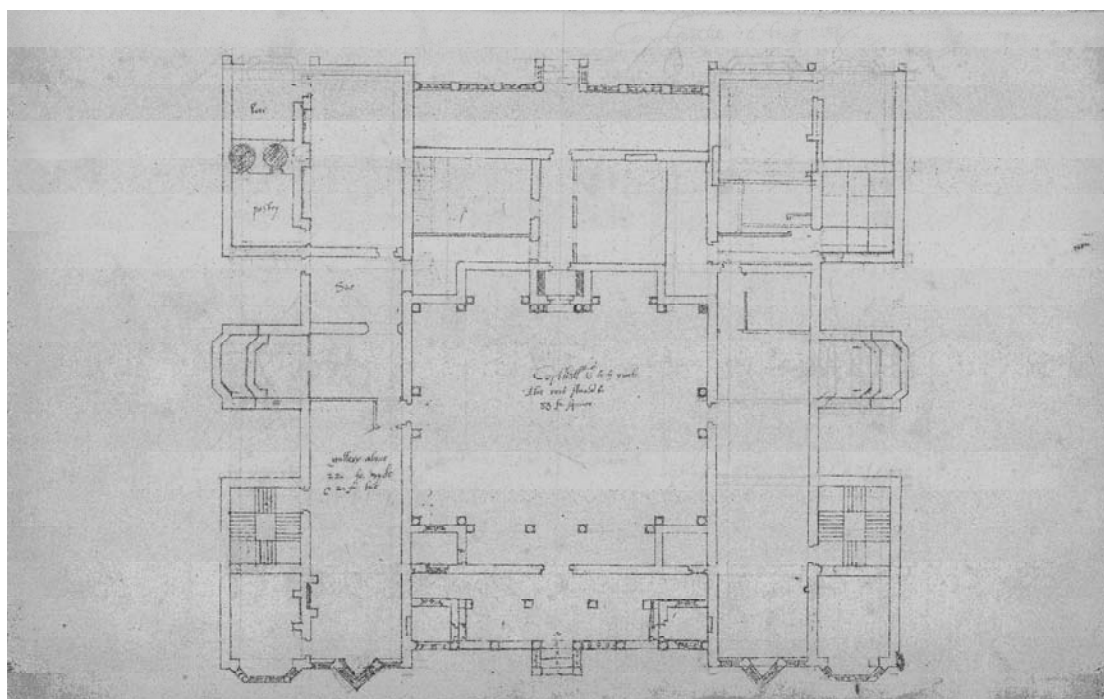
⁸⁸ CKS, U269 E199, Carter’s estimate 20 April 1626.

⁸⁹ J. T. Smith, *English Houses 1200-1800, The Hertfordshire Evidence*, RCHME (London: HMSO, 1992), p. 61, fig. 102.

⁹⁰ Newman, “Cophall, Essex,” p. 27.

likely a plot for the remodelling of the house that was not carried out.⁹¹ This would fit with the fact that Cranfield had grand plans for the house but had to re-assess them after his downfall in 1625.⁹² Thorpe's plan shows a much more regularised design, with both wings the same width with symmetrical staircases and towers and the central hall range equally proportioned. Cranfield employed Jones at Chelsea to oversee the modifications there, and Thorpe's plan has many qualities associated with Jones' classical style of building which emphasised order and proportion. Thorpe's plan also reveals a more complex loggia than appears on the later plans, and the two rows of columns suggest that Thorpe may have incorporated Cranfield's plans for a three tiered terrace for which he had estimates drawn up. The visual evidence for Copt Hall, then, is not very conclusive in revealing the layout of the house when Cranfield resided there.

Figure 65: Ground floor plan of Copt Hall, John Thorpe



⁹¹ Newman, "Copt Hall, Essex," p. 27; *The Book of Architecture of John Thorpe in Sir John Soane's Museum*, ed., John Summerson, *Walpole Society* 40, (1964), p. 51.

⁹² The estimates for the loggia were also grander than the one that was built, signifying that Cranfield was having to economise and rein in his grand ideas.

Figure 66: Ground floor plan of Copt Hall, c. 1740

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Figure 67: First floor plan of Copt Hall, c. 1740

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Cranfield's Chelsea home is well documented in plans and drawings both before and after Cranfield's occupation of the house. Robert Cecil's ownership reveals several plans of the house; some by J. Symonds showing the house as it was when Cecil acquired it and several by Spicer detailing the modifications that Cecil wished to carry out on the property. The earlier plans by Symonds reveal a half-H plan, with a slightly longer east wing than west wing (see Figures 28 and 29). The east wing is double-pile, meaning two rooms deep, an increasingly fashionable device in the seventeenth century, suggesting the lay-out was very advanced for a sixteenth century home. The plans by Spicer, (Figures 30 and 31), reveal that Cecil intended to extend both wings in the opposite direction to create a full H-plan.

On Thorpe's later plan the porch is positioned in the centre, and it is likely that Cecil ordered this work to be carried out as there is no mention of work on the porch in Cranfield's accounts. Another feature of Spicer's plot that can be seen on Thorpe's plan are the corner stair turrets which adjoin the inside of the now parallel east and west wings. Whether Cecil or Cranfield constructed these turrets is unclear, but work on 'the stairs in the turret' is recorded in the carpenter John Middleton's bill in September 1623, suggesting Cranfield made some changes at least to these structures.⁹³ The main difference between both Symonds and Spicer's plans for Chelsea House and that of Thorpe's is the layout of the north side of the house. On Thorpe's plan the north side of the house is separated from the south side by 'A longe Entey throughe all', which created a double pile house. The smaller rooms on the north side of the passage way are, as stated in the previous chapter, almost certainly the rooms which Cranfield constructed. These low rooms by the garden, looking on to the 'bake walke', were

⁹³ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8028].

worked on by all kinds of craftsmen, including masons, carpenters, bricklayers, and plasterers. Work was simultaneously carried out on Cranfield's study and the 'green Chamber next the garden' which may be the rooms situated in the east wing on the north side.⁹⁴ This is supported by the fact that the inventory taken in 1622 located a chamber and study next to the chapel (clearly labelled in Thorpe's view as lying next to the rooms in the east wing), and lists these rooms after the room assigned to Richard Edds which is 'On ye topp of ye stairs, in the east toure.'⁹⁵ Presumably the person compiling the inventory listed the items in Edds' room then descended the stairs in the east turret and entered the chamber and study before carrying on to the chapel.

Comparison of a surviving inventory from 1606, when the Earl of Lincoln was residing at Chelsea House, with Cranfield's inventory of 1622, led Town and Fryman to believe that Cranfield had not carried out a 'whole scale re-ordering of the house', but had focussed mainly on refurbishing the interior.⁹⁶ The earlier inventory does reveal that Cranfield did not add significantly more rooms to the house, and that many rooms were clearly the same although referred to in different terms; for example, the bed chamber, lobby and inner chamber of Cranfield's time were almost certainly the 'Kinge bedd Chamber', 'lyttle withdrawing chamber on the kinges syd' and 'the lyttle sealde chamber on the kinge syd' from 1606.⁹⁷ However, this still does not rule out Cranfield's re-positioning of rooms. To take the example of the rooms surrounding the chapel on the ground floor, it is clear when looking at the earlier ground floor plan of the house by J. Symonds (1595-6) as well as that by Thorpe that the 'Roome next the Chappell' and the

⁹⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 28 March 1623, 31 July 1623.

⁹⁵ LPL, MSS 1228, fols. 57-8.

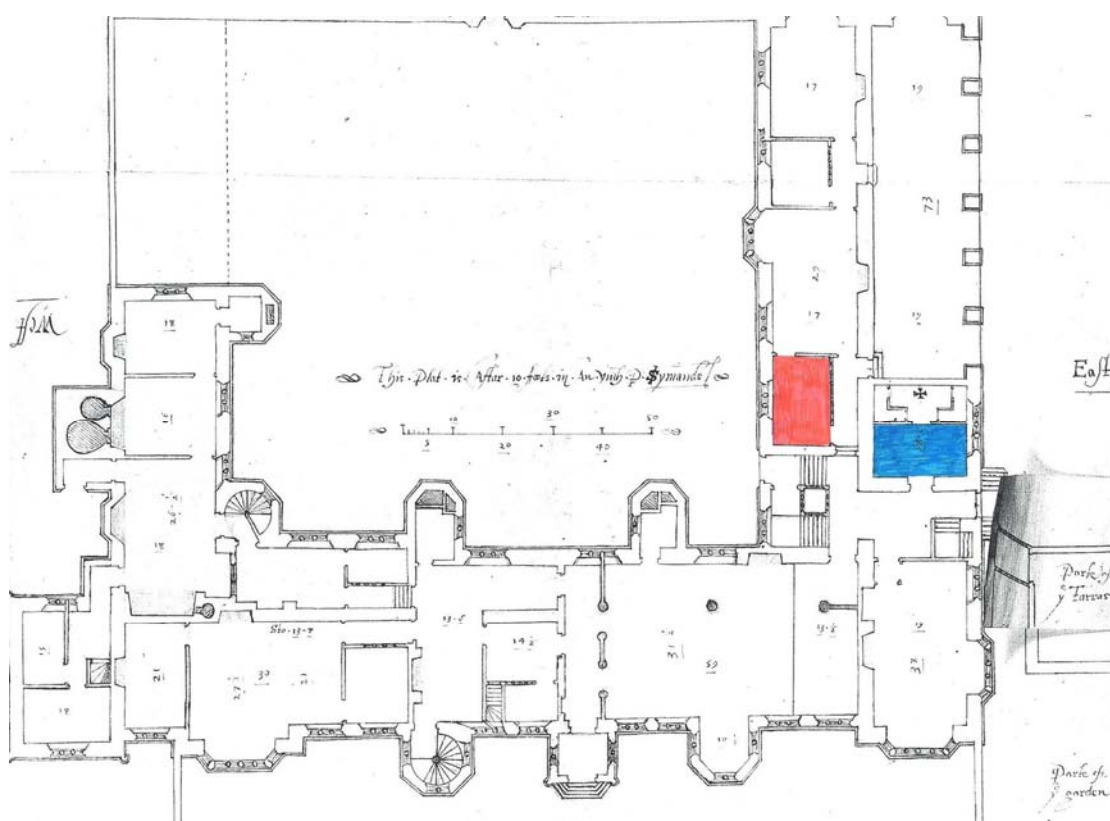
⁹⁶ Edward Town and Olivia Fryman, "Lionel Cranfield and the Furnishing of Chelsea House 1620-1625," *Furniture History Society Newsletter* 182 (May 2011): 1-5, (p. 1).

⁹⁷ TNA, SP 14/23, fol. 21.

‘Chappell Chamber’ recorded in the 1606 inventory could be in a different position to the chamber and study next to the chapel recorded in the 1622 inventory. Figure 68 shows where these rooms may have been contained in the house before Cranfield renovated the north front. The 1606 inventory lists the ‘Rome vnd the great Stayers’ almost immediately after the chapel chamber, which may have been situated under the stairs shown on Symonds’ ground floor plan which were located in the east wing rather than in the main body of the house where they were rebuilt. Although it is hard to discern when the lay-out of the house was changed using the inventories and plans, Cranfield’s building accounts provide evidence to suggest he was responsible for a significant number of the changes. The accounts reveal that the main stairs were almost certainly reconstructed during Cranfield’s renovations. John Middleton charged Cranfield for ‘a newell for the stayres’ plus various types of wood such as fir and oak, but more specifically for the ‘sawinge of 750 foote of Elme board for stayres’.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8024], 6 August 1623.

Figure 68: Ground floor plan by Symonds showing possible location of rooms from the 1606 inventory



Key ■ 'Roome next the Chappell' ■ 'Chappell Chamber'

Thorpe's plan reveals a typical layout for an elite house, with the service area at one end, in this case the west end, and the entertaining space at the opposite side, with the hall to receive guests, the parlour for socialising and the grand staircase leading up to the *piano nobile* which no doubt contained the grandest rooms, such as the great chamber, the drawing chamber, and the bed chamber, all of which are listed in the inventory. These three rooms are listed in succession, implying a sequence of state rooms, followed by the gallery, which was 'the commonest Elizabethan and Jacobean recipe for magnificence.'⁹⁹ Although there is no surviving plan for the first floor from

⁹⁹ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 102.

Cranfield's occupation of the house, the accounts can give some idea of the layout of the rooms. John Middleton recorded work he had done in 'the passage next unto the gallarye', possibly suggesting that the first floor was of a similar layout to the ground floor with a passage dividing the north side of the house from the south side and perhaps containing a long gallery on the north side overlooking the terrace and gardens.¹⁰⁰ The inventory clearly identifies three floors in the house as there is the kitchen on the ground floor, the 'chamber over the kitchen' and the 'upper chamber over the kitchen chamber'.¹⁰¹ The upper chambers, which are often described as 'by ye leads', are occupied by servants and Cranfield's daughters.¹⁰² In Kip's view the house is of three storeys, with attic rooms over the first floor (Figure 34).

Not all Cranfield's properties were of the half-H plan. Wiston was a courtyard house, and Pishiobury a 'small courtyard' house.¹⁰³ Henry Bigg's map of 1639 includes a aerial view of the house at Wiston revealing a large courtyard house with numerous orchards and gardens (Figure 38).¹⁰⁴ As the map was only drawn five years after Cranfield's departure from Wiston it is likely that the house was of the same form when he lived there, and the fact he bought stone to finish the court suggests it was indeed a courtyard house. Adapting existing buildings could limit the shape of the plan, which may be why Cranfield's houses at Pishiobury and Wiston were of the courtyard variety rather than the cutting-edge compact double pile plan, or the intermediate, but more common, half-H plan. Similarly, Ingram's house at York was not a regular form due to the fact it was composed of different buildings (Figure 8). It cannot be described as a

¹⁰⁰ CKS, U269/1 AP58, 1 December 1623.

¹⁰¹ LPL, MSS 1228, fols. 55, 57.

¹⁰² LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 57.

¹⁰³ Smith, *English Houses 1200-1800*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁴ WSRO, MSS 5591.

courtyard house, a compact plan house, or an H-plan (or any other letter of the alphabet) house. Its shape defies categorisation and unfortunately no plans or inventories from Ingram's occupation of the house survive which means the interior layout of the rooms cannot be deduced either.

The size of the properties owned by Ingram and Cranfield need to be taken into consideration along with the lay-out. A grandiose courtyard or half-H plan house could be much more impressive than a smaller compact double-pile house, despite its older form. One assumes the shape of the house could be overlooked slightly if the building was of an imposing nature. Cranfield's courtyard home at Pishiobury clearly contained large rooms as Robert Matthew, the joiner, was paid for wainscoting seventy-five yards in just one room.¹⁰⁵ When compared with the size of Cranfield's rooms at Forthampton House in Gloucestershire, the best lodging chamber being only eight yards and half a foot long and five yards and a foot wide, the size of the room at Pishiobury which was wainscoted appears impressive.¹⁰⁶ Although inventories must be used with caution when deducing the number of rooms within the home, it is evident that Cranfield's house at Copt Hall and Ingram's home at Temple Newsam had an extensive number of rooms and were clearly large houses. The inventory taken of Cranfield's residence at Copt Hall around 1625 reveals a palatial home with sixty-two rooms.¹⁰⁷ It lists not only a great chamber but a queen's chamber, a cabinet chamber and a chamber of state among others, signifying that Cranfield entertained people of the highest rank in his spacious home. Temple Newsam had an impressive sixty-six rooms and eleven

¹⁰⁵ CKS, U269/1 AP26 [ON4919], 2 April 1618.

¹⁰⁶ CKS, U269 E244/2.

¹⁰⁷ CKS, U269/1 E16.

outhouses listed in an inventory from 1667.¹⁰⁸ So Temple Newsam marginally surpassed Copt Hall in entertaining space, despite being in the north, a great distance from court and the city whereas Copt Hall was only a short coach journey away. The inventory for Pishiobury only lists twenty-five rooms and these are not as grandly termed as the rooms at Copt Hall, suggesting that Cranfield's move from Pishiobury to Copt Hall acquired him not only more rooms, but more prestigious rooms better suited to entertaining.¹⁰⁹ When Cranfield had to retire to Milcote in 1636, he went from a house with just over sixty rooms to one with between twenty and thirty rooms, signifying his strained financial status at the time.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately there are no extant inventories for Sheriff Hutton, York, or New Park, which list the number of rooms so comparison between Ingram and Cranfield's homes in this area is limited.

Conclusions

The eclectic mix of styles visible in the architecture of early Stuart England is evident in the comparison of just two members of the gentry who were building during the period. Ingram's houses reveal mannerist influence in areas such as the woodwork interiors and the plasterwork ceilings, whereas an attempt to incorporate classical features such as pergolas is also apparent. Heraldry was also frequently employed by Ingram as a means to legitimise his rise in status, just as conceits such as the inscription on his balustrade at Temple Newsam were utilized to consolidate his image within society. Cranfield was clearly drawn to the innovative architectural style manifested by Jones and used classicism as a way of infiltrating the most select circle of architectural patrons. It must be remembered that it was Cranfield, not Ingram, who was unique in his architectural

¹⁰⁸ WYAS, WYL100/EA/3/11.

¹⁰⁹ CKS, U269/E277, 27 June 1622.

¹¹⁰ CKS, U269 E228/1, 1 November 1625.

tastes, for classicism was by no means popular in England during this period.¹¹¹ It was refined, certainly, and it marked Cranfield out as a progressive patron of the arts but Ingram's houses were more typical of Jacobean preferences. In terms of plan and layout, however, Ingram's northern residences were as current as Cranfield's, especially with the use of the basement for service areas, a particularly Italian concept, which was still innovative in English houses in the 1620s, when Ingram was building.¹¹² Further, the size of Ingram's houses were also able to compete with Cranfield's, with Temple Newsam, in particular, containing a large number of rooms.

This discussion has also revealed that the north-south divide is an ineffective concept when it comes to defining architectural style and design. Style was influenced by region, whilst variations between metropolitan and provincial areas were also apparent. Mannerist features were still being used in the south when Ingram was using them, and classical influence could be seen in the north at this time. Holland House in Kensington contained mannerist cartouches but employed the vista concept, whereas the little keep at Bolsover Castle displayed a 'hauntingly beautiful sequence of rooms, part Gothic, part Florentine, infused with Jacobean symbolism.'¹¹³ Personal preference was obviously also a vital component of the choice of style for a house. Ingram's personality shines through his buildings slightly more clearly than Cranfield's does, but perhaps Cranfield's choice of architect in itself reveals more about Cranfield's character. Jones was no stranger to self-fashioning and as Anderson notes he 'downplayed his ties to any native tradition and emphasized his knowledge of classical architecture' which marked him out from his contemporaries. He projected his own image as a disciple of Palladio

¹¹¹ Lucy Gent, "Introduction," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent, Studies in British Art 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 1-18.

¹¹² Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry*, pp. 116, 141.

¹¹³ Mowl and Earnshaw, *Architecture Without Kings*, p. 168.

in the most minute ways, converting his handwriting from English secretary hand to a continental Italic hand.¹¹⁴ Jones had constructed a self which could rise through the ranks, just as Cranfield had. Both Cranfield and Ingram's houses not only convey how the men could construct works of architectural significance but also how they could construct an image of their 'self'.

¹¹⁴ Christy Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent, Studies in British Art 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995): 239-286, (pp. 243, 259).

Building the houses: materials and craftsmen

This chapter analyses the practical logistics behind the building of elite houses, examining the factors affecting the acquisition and cost of materials, along with the expense of carriage, and the employment of artificers, with particular focus on the relationship between patron and craftsmen, the extent to which craftsmen mobility affected the building process, and the issues which influenced wage rates and working conditions.

5.1 Building materials

Building materials can be one of the clearest markers of regional diversity in architecture, with Alec Clifton-Taylor going so far as to say that no other factor affected regionality in building as much as the availability of materials.¹ This section will consider the materials used by Ingram and Cranfield to see whether their buildings adhered to regional patterns or whether they imported supplies from afar to construct and modify their houses, and if they did, was it for reasons of fashion or was it due to a shortage of production of specific resources in certain areas? Cost of carriage and materials will be evaluated, as, even for the wealthy, economics played a crucial role in the realization of design.

i) Selection and location of materials

Supply and production of certain materials in specific geological areas often determined the building materials most commonly used in the vicinity. Of course, building was not

¹ Alec Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building*, (1962), 4th ed. revised by Jack Simmons, (London: Faber & Faber, 1987), pp. 25-6.

entirely reliant on local production of materials, personal preference, among other things, was also an important factor. From the Elizabethan period onwards timber was being replaced by brick and stone by the elite as materials of choice, leaving wooden structures throughout the country identifiable with the lower ranks of society. This was due not only to aesthetics but also to economy as timber had risen significantly in price since the late medieval period due to an increasing shortage of the material. Brick and stone not only added prestige to a building, then, but were not significantly more expensive than timber, and also had the advantage of being more durable with less risk of fire. Timber was, however, occasionally used by members of the gentry and above; one example being the building of lodges, which being smaller properties with limited entertaining space, could be less grand.²

According to Clifton-Taylor the northern elite would have continued to build not only lodges but their main residences in timber as he believed ‘the urge to rebuild in stone or brick ... did not affect the four most northerly counties which remained comparatively dormant architecturally until after the Restoration.’³ This sweeping generalisation is problematic in many ways. The use of specific building materials, more so than any other aspect of the building process, is too complex to be considered simply in terms of the dichotomy between the north and south. Different regions within the north had different geological make-ups which affected the availability of materials which could be used, just as the south did. Many counties in the south were still building with timber during this period as they had abundant supplies, the Wealden in Sussex being one such example. Sussex, home to Cranfield’s Wiston, was also notably conservative in

² Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 34.

³ Clifton-Taylor, *Pattern of English Building*, p. 35.

architectural style.⁴ Clifton-Taylor's statement is contradicted by his earlier work in Pevsner's gazetteer of County Durham where he documents that the county used stone to carry out nearly all its building works due to wide availability of the material, most notable being the sandstone from the Coal Measures, whereas timber was rarely used due to its fragility against the 'constant menace of the Scots'.⁵ However, Clifton-Taylor's theory is concerned with the 'urge' to build in brick and stone, rather than the necessity. To take Durham as an example yet again, buildings such as Gainford Hall and Horden Hall, both built of stone in the compact plan with classical architectural embellishment, clearly express an 'urge' to keep up with current national trends in architecture.⁶ Clifton-Taylor is referring to counties outside of this study, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmorland, but Yorkshire, sharing its border with two of them, is often lumped in as part of the backward north. Ingram's building programme, however, clearly shows that brick and stone were utilised in the northern parts some time before the Restoration.

Within the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, where Ingram was establishing himself domestically, many different building materials were available. The North Riding of Yorkshire had various supplies of stone, with sandstone abundant in the east, millstone grit and grey, shelly carboniferous limestone in the west, and yellow corallian limestone running round the vale of Pickering and to Malton. Brick was the predominant material used in the flatter southern areas of the riding, however, where

⁴ Nairn and Pevsner, *Sussex*, pp. 32, 54-7.

⁵ Alec Clifton-Taylor, "Building Materials," in *The Buildings of England: County Durham*, (1953), by Nikolaus Pevsner, 2nd ed. revised by Elizabeth Williamson, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1983), pp. 69-73.

⁶ Adrian Gareth Green, "Houses and Households in County Durham and Newcastle c.1570-1730," (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Durham University, 2000), pp. 135-6.

there was less stone.⁷ In the town of York timber was the predominant material used, especially below gentry level, throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸

With three of Ingram's properties in the southern part of the North Riding, near or in York, brick was an obvious choice. Accordingly, he built New Lodge with brick despite being able to use stone from the nearby castle at Sheriff Hutton. Although stone is often considered a material of more social prestige than brick, '[a]s a material, brick was of considerable status throughout the century.'⁹ Brick was an attractive material for the gentry due to its economical production, often being made on site with no need to pay for transportation.¹⁰ However, this may not be Ingram's sole reason for using brick as he had free access to stone from the castle which he did not have to pay to transport. It has been suggested that '[l]ike some of the southern houses, Ingram chose to build in brick rather than stone', because he may have been imitating southern fashions.¹¹ However, the assumption that there is a need to imitate is a modern one. There is not always imitation; it is often the case that one is just in step with another. Maybe the castle did not yield enough stone for the building of Ingram's New Lodge; however he could have faced it in stone, because even the grandest stone buildings were often 'built of brick and faced in stone for reasons of cost, speed of construction and habitability. Stone buildings took time to dry out'¹² So it seems that the choice of building material was generally a more pragmatic decision rather than a question of fashion.

⁷ Pevsner, *North Yorkshire*, p. 21.

⁸ *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York: V The Central Area*, RCHME (London: HMSO, 1981), p. lxxv.

⁹ Malcolm Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995), p. 114.

¹⁰ Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste*, p. 66.

¹¹ Shaun Richardson, "The Architectural History of Sheriff Hutton Hall," p. 218.

¹² Lubbock, *The Tyranny of Taste*, p. 66.

Brick, however, was also not always easy to get hold of. John Matteson wrote to his master to tell him he had bought four thousand bricks and that ‘they cost 11^s 6^d a 1000 and this is the first that any about York did begin to make bricks.’¹³ It was not that bricks were rare in the north, for the first use of bricks in the country was in Hull in the fourteenth century and ‘York was not long behind Hull and Beverley in the manufacture and use of bricks.’¹⁴ Swanson found that brick was increasingly used over stone in fifteenth-century York, and that this change in primary building material had contrary effects for craftsmen from different trades. She even documents an extreme case where two masons were imprisoned for murdering a tiler because of their exchange in fortunes.¹⁵ David Neave uses Matteson’s letter to Ingram regarding buying bricks in York to suggest there may have been a hiatus in brick-making in the early 1600s.¹⁶ So it seems brick making was not a commercial industry at this time and it may have been hard to get hold of bricks in the area if you did not have your own brick maker. Brick making was a very specialised skill and it may have been due to a shortage of skilled craftsmen that brick production was temporarily low. In 1669 a York bricklayer was fined for using his trade in Durham, but responded by stating that the county needed assistance in this trade, implying there was a shortage of skilled bricklayers in Durham. He further defended his case by saying that Bishop Cosin arranged with the Lord Mayor of Durham to make him a freeman of the city.¹⁷ Cosin’s actions highlight the significant role of the patron in building works, in this case procuring the skills of an ‘outsider’ due

¹³ WYASL, WYL178/5, 5 April 1630.

¹⁴ David Neave, “Building Materials,” in Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave with contributions from Susan Neave and John Hutchinson, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 27.

¹⁵ Heather Swanson, *Building Craftsmen in Late Medieval York*, Borthwick Papers no. 63, (1983), p. 20.

¹⁶ Neave, “Building Materials,” p. 28.

¹⁷ Green, “Houses and Households,” pp. 301-2.

to the lack of expertise in the locality, an action that could not have been carried out by the master craftsmen in charge of the build due to guild regulations.¹⁸

Hunneyball points out that the construction material used for communal buildings could identify the founder of the establishment. He notes that Hertfordshire schools and almshouses stood out as they were made of brick when the vast majority of 'lower-class' houses were still made of timber.¹⁹ This would be the same case in York, with Ingram's brick almshouses standing out against the rows of timber edifices built by the lower sorts of the town. The choice of building material used by benefactors, even if for pragmatic reasons, would also, then, have the desirable effect of promoting their philanthropic reputation within the locality. Brick building did not become fashionable in urban York until the late 1630s, and even then was only used by the inhabitants of higher social standing. Ingram was leading the way, then, with his use of brick at York Palace over a decade before, and then at Bootham in the early 1630s. Brick was used more generally in the town after 1645 when the Corporation 'forced the issue, probably as a measure against fire, after the burning of the suburbs in the previous year's siege.'²⁰ The York House Book records that on the 27 January 1645 the council agreed that an order should be made for 'building brick houses upright from the ground in brick.'²¹ The Corporation's orders came some forty years after James I proclaimed in 1605 that any new house built in the city of London (and within one mile of the suburbs) should have its forefront 'wholly made of Bricke, or Bricke and stone'.²² This time lag could be

¹⁸ See below for a full discussion of the role of patrons and their influence on the building process.

¹⁹ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 132.

²⁰ *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York: III South-West of the Ouse*, RCHME (London: HMSO, 1972), p. lxvi.

²¹ YCA, City of York House Book, B36, f.122^v.

²² *Stuart Royal Proclamations I: Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603-1625*, eds. James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 112.

perceived as another example of the north being more conservative and continuing to build in traditional materials rather than adopting the new fashion for using brick and stone. However, it may simply be the case that the surrounding areas of York had more abundant supplies of timber than London's environs, therefore not having as great a need as the capital to preserve it. Although, in other aspects of building within the northern town, willingness to prevent the new desire for uniformity appears to be present, as the 'straitning' of the streets by building under jetties to give a flush wall and more interior space, was condemned by the Guild of Bricklayers, Plasterers and Tilers, due to it being a danger to children who could no longer use the space under jetties as a safe haven from carts. If any craftsmen were to aid such building work they were to be 'comitted to warde for fowertene daies without baile' and possibly fined as well.²³

Ingram also rebuilt his West Riding home using brick. However, millstone grit was the predominant material used within the county for house building, especially after timber became scarce during the Elizabethan period. Ingram may have decided to use brick over the local stone for many reasons, but one would assume primarily because the original house was constructed of brick, which would blend almost seamlessly with the new modifications. Despite the millstone grit being used in various churches and castles within the Riding, as it replaced timber it presumably became associated with the buildings of the lower sorts. Temple Newsam, in its red-brick grandeur, could not be compared to the dark grit houses of the meaner sorts.

²³ YMA, QQ80/2/11, Bricklayers, Plasterers, and Tilers' Ordinances, p. 13, 3 March 1602.

There was no good natural building stone in either Essex or Hertfordshire, where Cranfield was remodelling his properties, and therefore brick was often used to construct houses for the elite and timber was the main material used below gentry level.²⁴ Cranfield often used brick to carry out alterations to his properties in Essex and Hertfordshire, and as he was only remodelling, not building from scratch, brick was a good choice. According to Hunneyball, brick ‘lent itself to modification’ and this aided, he believes, Hertfordshire’s quick adoption of new fashions in architectural style.²⁵ Cranfield ordered significant amounts of brick to be made near his home in Hertfordshire, using brick makers from Stanstead, and even employing his gardener at Pishiobury, William Daye, to make extra bricks as they were needed. This reduced costs as he no longer needed to pay for the use of his neighbour’s land near Pishiobury or the carriage of the bricks to the house.²⁶ Cranfield also commissioned his own brick makers to make bricks for Copt Hall.²⁷ For his properties in London, however, Cranfield appears to have bought bricks ready made. A receipt signed by Thomas Arundell acknowledges payment of £30 18^s 9^d in September 1623 for 55,000 bricks and 55 loads of sand, delivered to Chelsea House.²⁸ This may be because there were greater supplies of ready made bricks in London than in provincial towns.

Although Ingram mainly used brick for the bulk of his building work, his properties were ideally situated to procure good quality local stone from the famous Huddleston Quarry, near Tadcaster, which provided magnesium limestone. The quarry had previously supplied York Minster and King’s College in Cambridge, and produced the

²⁴ Pevsner, *Essex*; Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire*, (1953), rev. ed. by Bridget Cherry (Middlesex: Penguin, 1977).

²⁵ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 15.

²⁶ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1324] 17 January 1613, E20/4, n.d.

²⁷ CKS, A405/1, 1624.

²⁸ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8019].

same stone that was quarried at Roche Abbey which was given the accolade of the best building stone in England after Portland by Sir Christopher Wren.²⁹ Stone from Huddleston was also used in the building of Inigo Jones' banqueting house at Whitehall, one of the most progressive buildings in early Stuart England, signifying the material's worth.³⁰ Huddleston, being almost equidistant between Temple Newsam and York, was used by Ingram to quarry stone for his properties at both locations. Ingram often sent his carver Thomas Ventriss there to select and hew stone which was mainly used for decorative features such as chimneypieces and garden ornaments.³¹ Masons often worked the stone at the quarry as it was more malleable when it had first come out of the ground, becoming harder the more it came into contact with the air. It also reduced the cost of transportation if the stone was cut at the quarry, as it made it lighter in weight.³² After Ventriss had hewed the stone it was transported to York by Thomas Tesh.³³ Presumably Tesh carried the stone by the same method that many earlier builders had used, 'taken in carts through Sherburn to the quay at Cawood and thence by water up the Ouse to York.'³⁴ Using the River Ouse as part of the transport route would have cut costs as water transport was significantly cheaper than road carriage.³⁵

Cranfield also used stone on many occasions but his properties, unlike Ingram's, were in counties almost devoid of building stone, requiring him to import stone from other areas of England. This practice was carried out by other elite builders who were constructing houses in the counties surrounding London. Suffolk ordered paving stones

²⁹ Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building*, p. 94.

³⁰ TNA, E351/3391.

³¹ Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, "The English Medieval Quarry," *The Economic History Review* 9:1 (Nov 1938): 17-37 (p. 29); WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18, April and March 1635.

³² Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building*, p. 48.

³³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18, April 1635.

³⁴ Arthur Oswald, "The White Stone of Yorkshire," *Country Life Annual* (1959): 61-64 (p. 63).

³⁵ See below for a full discussion of carriage.

from a quarry in Berwick-on-Tweed for his house at Audley End, Essex, showing that good quality building materials were sought just as often from the north as from the south.³⁶ At Copt Hall Cranfield utilised Purbeck stone on many occasions, and also employed black stones and white stones.³⁷ Cranfield's employment of black and white stones adhered to the increasing use of contrasting shades of stonework in the mid seventeenth century.³⁸ Cranfield also used Portland stone, 'king of the oolites', for his house in St. Bartholomew's in London.³⁹ Both Purbeck and Portland stone were quarried in Dorset, but could also be acquired in London, specifically through the Masons' Company. All stone entering London had to be 'searched', in other words the material was checked for quality and size, with the importers paying a search fee – a substantial source of revenue for the London Masons' Company. Purbeck stone, in particular, due to its increasing popularity for building works was a good money maker.⁴⁰ In Cranfield's accounts which list payment for Portland and Purbeck stone there is no mention of carriage costs from Dorset, indicating that he probably procured the stone through the masons he employed, many of whom were members of the city's guild.⁴¹ Henry Ayre wrote to Cranfield from Wiston informing him that the Purbeck stone he had bargained for had 'landed' and he thought it would prove to be 'Mr Lewellyns the mason, that did your honours woork at Chelsye and at Wiston'⁴² The word landed suggests the stone had come by water to Sussex, and the fact that it was

³⁶ Drury, "Audley End," p. 3. Robert Cecil also acquired black paving stones from Berwick for his work at Hatfield, see Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 71.

³⁷ CKS, U269 A505/1.

³⁸ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 101.

³⁹ CKS, U269 A451 Bundle A, 26 November 1630; Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building*, p. 68

⁴⁰ Douglas Knoop and G P Jones, *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, Quatuor Coronati Lodge no. 2076 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935), p. 18.

⁴¹ See below, p. 272.

⁴² CKS, U269/1 E65. The letter is dated 20 October but the particular year is not specified. However, Ayre also wrote to Cranfield from Wiston on 27 October 1628, suggesting the letter in question was also written in that year.

likely to be Mr Llewellyn's points to it coming from London, where he was a member of the Masons' Company, later becoming Master.⁴³

Cranfield's preferred material of choice appears to be stone on many occasions. He even ordered Richard Sheppard, his father-in-law and steward at Pishiobury, to send back six hundred paving tiles which he had acquired for paving the kitchen at his Hertfordshire home as he wanted it doing in free stone. Sheppard listed the practical disadvantages of the stone, that it would 'fall verry chargable besid the will be extemie could and Ly verry moyest as you know', yet Cranfield was obviously more concerned with the appearance of the floor and was willing to foot the expense.⁴⁴ Cranfield may have been keener than Ingram to use stone because of the prestige that it could add to a building, and he may have been under greater pressure than Ingram to display an impressive home as, being situated nearer to court, he probably consorted with courtiers much more frequently than Ingram did. It would also be easier for Cranfield to acquire Purbeck or Portland stone, using his connections by acquiring it through the masons he commissioned.

The Crown advanced the use of local materials by policies such as restricting the use of Portland stone in London in the 1620s and by 1667 having all London requests for the stone referred to the surveyor.⁴⁵ The fact that Cranfield could still get hold of Portland stone suggests his position at court was advantageous to his building pursuits. Similar strategies were adopted in the north, with an example being the royal contract which

⁴³ See below, p. 272, for further information on Llewellyn.

⁴⁴ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1299], 3 April 1612.

⁴⁵ Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Medieval Mason: An Economic History of English Stone Building in the Later Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, 3rd ed. (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1967), pp. 172-3.

granted Ingram the position of keeper of Sheriff Hutton Park which stated that there must be '[t]imber of and in the premisses growing to and towards the reparacions of the howses lodges and buildings of the premises'⁴⁶ Ingram was lucky to have an abundant supply of timber in Sheriff Hutton Park. Situated in Galtres Forest, New Lodge had easy access to wood, which limited carriage costs. When the joiner Henry Duckett needed timber to carry on his work at Sheriff Hutton, Ingram instructed Matteson to take Richard Wright to 'look round about the park where they may be best spared and to fell them down and let me intreat you to be very sparing of them'⁴⁷ Despite the royal contract, Ingram was obviously keen not to cut down too many of the trees in the forest; therefore he also used other means of supply. In 1622 Ingram obtained ten timber trees from Riccall Park which were felled and posted by Richard Neyley before they were transported to York.⁴⁸ Riccall was roughly seven miles from York, a similar distance to that between Sheriff Hutton Park and York. Therefore it was just as convenient to get timber from Riccall for York Palace as it was from Sheriff Hutton. Both parks were used to provide timber, and in May 1621 thirty spruce deale boards were delivered to York from Sheriff Hutton.⁴⁹ Wood was often carried between the different properties; Richard Lister recorded trees being brought from Sheriff Hutton to Temple Newsam in the early 1630s.⁵⁰ Wood was also acquired from merchants, as at York when Ingram was keen to prevent delays to the construction process. He informed Matteson that 'if my deals be not come I pray you take so many of the merchant at York that we had the last of as will keep the two joiners at work about my chapel'⁵¹ Ingram also acquired fourteen long boards, each 28 feet long and 6^d a piece, from

⁴⁶ WYASL, WYL100/SH/F4/4/1, 21 January 1622.

⁴⁷ WYASL, WYL178/4, 10 December 1622.

⁴⁸ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I.

⁴⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/15, 30 May 1621.

⁵⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/39.

⁵¹ WYASL, WYL178/4, 10 December 1622.

Alderman Micklethwaite Esq., to be sent to Temple Newsam.⁵² So it seems the majority of Ingram's wood was locally sourced. He did, however, have deales delivered from other places such as Tadcaster and Hull, which were probably from the Baltic where spruce and fir deale boards were of the best quality, but even if they were English they were definitely not local as they arrived by water.⁵³ Wood had been imported from the Baltic since the medieval period, making merchants key suppliers for craftsmen and patrons wishing to acquire timber.⁵⁴ It was mainly only high quality specialised wood that Ingram purchased from afar, obtaining the bulk of his timber from local forests. Ingram also sold timber, which other men used to repair their homes.⁵⁵

One of the few references to timber in Cranfield's accounts concerns the use of trees at Pishiobury. Sheppard informed Cranfield that the carpenter, Watson, had gone to Newman's and marked three trees to be felled, one to make planks for a bridge and two for a portal. Sheppard noted the poor quality of the chosen trees, but reasoned that the best trees were 'spaer[ed] for shewe unlese you will have us to tacke of them wher in you may impart your myend to hime [Watson] and yt shall be done accordinge.'⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that Sheppard left the best trees to provide a good prospect rather than using them for building.⁵⁷ Admittedly, the timber for the bridge may not have needed to be of the best quality aesthetically but the portal would presumably be inspected by visitors on their way into the house and would benefit from good timber.

⁵² WYASL, WYL100/C/2/316, 14 February 1626. Presumably this was Elias Micklethwaite, Alderman of York, who resided in Micklegate, and was Sheriff of York in 1605 and Lord Mayor of the city twice, in 1615 and 1627, see Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London: William Bowyer, 1736), p. 365.

⁵³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/15, 30 May 1621, WYL178/4, 25 November 1622, 10 December 1622, 28 November 1625, 14 November 1626, WYL100/EA/13/9, May 1623.

⁵⁴ Swanson, *Building Craftsmen in Late Medieval York*, p. 14.

⁵⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/38.

⁵⁶ CKS, U269/1 E20/1, 20 April 1613.

⁵⁷ So presumably Newman's must have been very near to Pishiobury if the trees there could have affected the view from Cranfield's house.

However, the grounds and surrounding landscape of the property also reflected on the owner of the house, and were clearly just as important as the house itself.⁵⁸ Cranfield also acquired timber and boards from Twickenham for his house in St. Bartholomew's in 1638.⁵⁹ Cranfield appears to have used far less timber in his building modifications than Ingram. However, Ingram was carrying out much more construction work than Cranfield and may, therefore, have required more timber to be used for framework and so forth. Also, timber was sparse at this time in and around London, which was expressed in the royal proclamation of 1605 which ordered new houses to be fronted of brick or stone to preserve timber. Cranfield had already started building his house in Wood Street the previous year, so it cannot be assumed his house was fronted with brick or stone. Both carpenters and brick layers were paid concerning 'charges donne out upon the brick wall' in July 1605 at the city property, suggesting that the house was timber-framed with brick infill.⁶⁰ The house certainly had a jetty, a feature which King James was keen to banish from city houses as his later proclamation of 1619 expresses, 'avoyd that noysome pester of Bulkes, Stalls, Sheddts, Cants, and Juttyes, wherewith Our Streetes are in all places so much cumbred and annoied, that it taketh away the benefit of ayre, sweetnes, and decency of the same'.⁶¹ These royal proclamations concerning construction were enforced by the 'commission for buildings', of which Inigo Jones was a member. The commissioners were quite ruthless in their destruction of unlawful buildings. A petition to parliament by 'many thousands of poore distressed carpenters, bricklayers, smithes, plaisterers, glaziers, painters and other handy-crafts men' in 1621 complained that the practice of pulling down houses

⁵⁸ See Chapter 7.

⁵⁹ CKS, U269 A508/3.

⁶⁰ CKS, U269/1 E2.

⁶¹ *Stuart Royal Proclamations I*, p. 430.

made of timber instead of brick was wasting abundant timber, therefore having the reverse effect desired by the proclamations.⁶²

Raw materials could also be acquired from craftsmen and, according to Swanson, if craftsmen wanted to ‘amass a modest fortune’ it was vital that they traded in materials as well as providing their craft. The materials and the craft, however, did not necessarily correlate with, for example, merchants rather than carpenters often found selling timber.⁶³ Although Swanson’s work focuses on medieval York it is clear that merchants were still trading in timber in the seventeenth century, as mention has already been made of Ingram procuring the material from them. Cranfield, however, bought wood from his carpenter John Middleton, who clearly made a ‘modest fortune’ as he was paid a staggering £800.⁶⁴

Another common method of procuring building materials was reclamation. A letter from Bernard Dinninckhoff to Thomas Lumsden concerning modifications to Sheriff Hutton Castle gatehouse reveals aspects of the architectural methods of the time with great emphasis on recycling materials. Dinninckhoff claimed he would ‘undertake to take downe transepose and build up againe’ the gatehouse and advised Lumsden to find materials such as wood and iron from other parts of the castle, ‘you are a mynded to take downe the Castell where in will bee found mutch timber for that purpose allso iron for window bares and bandes for dores’.⁶⁵ Despite the reuse of materials, Dinninckhoff made it clear that the residence would be ‘convenient for a gentellman to

⁶² *To the most Honble Assemblie of the high Court of Parliament, The Humble Petition of many thousands of poore distressed carpenters, bricklayers, smithes, plaisterers, glaziers, painters and other handy-crafts men*, (1621).

⁶³ Swanson, *Building Craftsmen in Late Medieval York*, p. 28.

⁶⁴ U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 28 October 1622.

⁶⁵ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A3/2/4.

dwelt in.’⁶⁶ Presumably, then, second-hand materials would not be used if there was a danger of lowering the quality of the building, and therefore reclamation was probably very selective.

It has already been noted that Ingram salvaged materials from an old house which stood on the site of the almshouses he built in Bootham, whilst also procuring a late twelfth-century archway from the part of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, which was demolished, to use as the central entrance to the almshouses. Ingram also employed old materials for the construction and decoration of many of his other buildings. Like Dinninckhoff he was aware of the rich resources that Sheriff Hutton Castle could yield and utilized various materials from the neglected stronghold. It appears his primary motivation was to save money, ‘[y]ou write you shall want more lead, I will wonder at nothing but be patient, but as I think you shall have as much lead upon one of the towers upon the Castle that remaineth as will serve you, the which I pray you to take and save so much money laying out which otherwise goeth out fast enough’.⁶⁷ Ingram had secured a warrant in 1617 to take lead from the castle, authorised by Lord Treasurer Suffolk, who happened to be in great debt to Ingram.⁶⁸ To have influence over one of the most powerful men in the country was clearly advantageous in many ways, even, it seems, for securing building materials. Ingram informed Matteson of a chimney piece ‘that lieth in the Palace Garth’ which he wished to be restored, in his words ‘made something handsome’, and then to be placed in the hall at Sheriff Hutton.⁶⁹ He transported two chimney pieces from London, intended for the great dining chamber and the low parlour, and for the others he resorted once again to his Aladdin’s Cave, ‘for all the rest

⁶⁶ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A3/2/4.

⁶⁷ WYASL, WYL178/4, 10 December 1622.

⁶⁸ WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/4; see Chapter 2 pp. 56-7.

⁶⁹ WYASL, WYL178/4.

of the chambers I would have you to take Ventris with you and a mason to the Castle to see what mantle lies there and what good stone to make some of'.⁷⁰

Reclamation of materials was just as common in the south, with builders at Ashley House, Walton-on-Thames, being paid to carefully retain materials when demolishing an old house, which were then used in the construction of the new house. Lady Berkeley reutilised three old chimneys in her new home, just as Ingram did.⁷¹ Sometimes materials were even stolen from old buildings for new building projects, such as stone taken from the dilapidated old Westminster Palace by developers.⁷² However, no references to Cranfield reclaiming materials have been found. This may be because he was only making minor modifications and did not have an old building which he was to rebuild to take materials from.

Both Ingram and Cranfield, then, used prestigious materials to build and remodel their homes. Their use of brick and stone reflected their elevated status and made sure their buildings stood out from their neighbours' houses. Although architectural style, such as classicism, was sometimes hard for contemporaries to grasp, building materials provided a much more comprehensive signifier of status which all could understand. Consequently, the members of the local communities in which Ingram and Cranfield lived would easily identify them as members of the elite through the building materials they used. It is apparent that the use of specific materials was not affected by any north-south divide but was largely dependent on region and the raw materials which were produced in the area. Wealthy gentlemen could overcome this problem by importing the

⁷⁰ WYASL, WYL178/4.

⁷¹ Michael E. Blackman, "Ashley House (Walton-on-Thames), Building Accounts 1602-1607," *Surrey Record Society* 29 (1977), p. xiv.

⁷² Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 191.

materials they desired from other areas of the country, and materials from the north were transported to the south just as frequently as materials were taken from the south to the north.

ii) Cost of materials

A comparison of the price of materials might be expected to reveal disparity between the north and south. The price of brick is a good place to start due to the fact both Ingram and Cranfield purchased large quantities of the material for their building works. In 1607 Cranfield paid 12^s per 1000 bricks, a price which Ingram did not pay until 1630.⁷³ However, by 1636 Cranfield was only paying 4^s per 1000, and Ingram even less at 3^s 4^d per 1000.⁷⁴ The lower prices the gentlemen paid for their bricks is due to the fact they contracted workmen to make the bricks for them, which seemed to be considerably cheaper than buying bricks from other people. The cost of brick, in particular, appears to be much more dependent on the method of production rather than geographical location. This is supported by studies of houses in other regions within England. The bricks for the building of Blickling Hall, Norfolk, cost between 4^s 6^d and 5^s per 1000. These were presumably at the lower end of the price range as '[t]wo brick-kilns were constructed at the outset' of the building programme, suggesting the bricks were made on site by contracted brick makers.⁷⁵ The bricks for Ashley House, Walton-on-Thames, however, were at the higher end of the price scale, with most being between 11 and 12^s per 1000.⁷⁶ These bricks were not made on site but came from various places within the surrounding area, therefore raising the price.

⁷³ CKS, U269/1 AB2; WYASL, WYL178/5.

⁷⁴ CKS, U269 E261/3; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/71/5.

⁷⁵ Stanley-Millson and Newman, "Blickling Hall," p. 6.

⁷⁶ Blackman, "Ashley House," p. xv.

The cost of buying bricks from outside sources may have been higher as the materials used in the burning process in brick making needed to be taken into consideration. The materials used to burn the bricks, such as wood, coal and straw, were often provided by the patron when he employed his own brick maker. This was the case with both Ingram and Cranfield who supplied the fuel for the firing process.⁷⁷ Wood and coal were not cheap materials; indeed, coal was the most expensive material used in brick making.⁷⁸ The brick maker whom Sheppard recommended to Cranfield in 1613 to produce bricks for Pishiobury advised that coal would have to be used to fire the bricks as ‘all this contrie will not yeild wood to burne 3 or 4 C thowsand,’ further supporting the fact that wood was very scarce in the counties near to London at this time.⁷⁹ Straw also seems to have been scarce in Hertfordshire as Sheppard had to postpone thatching the barn at Pishiobury due to the lack of available straw.⁸⁰ At Copt Hall, however, the brick makers John and William Britten, only used straw for burning brick, suggesting it was easier to procure in Essex. The straw cost between 5^s and 6^s 6^d per load.⁸¹ In London the straw cost 4^d a truss (being a bundle weighing 36lbs).⁸² Ingram evidently used straw at Temple Newsam in the early 1630s for burning bricks, with the price ranging between 4 and 5^d a thrave.⁸³ Due to the different measurements used by Ingram and Cranfield it is difficult to make a comparison of prices, especially when a measurement such as a ‘thrive’ is used, which in itself can vary between different locations.⁸⁴ Merchants providing ready-made bricks would need to recoup costs for the wood, coal and straw used in the process of brick making, consequently making their prices higher. There

⁷⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/71/5; CKS, U269 E261/3.

⁷⁸ Clifton-Taylor, *The Pattern of English Building*, p. 220.

⁷⁹ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1324], 17 January 1613.

⁸⁰ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1315], 13 October 1612.

⁸¹ CKS, U269 A405/1.

⁸² CKS, U269 A402/1; *OED*.

⁸³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/39.

⁸⁴ *OED*.

was, of course, always the risk of wastage when making one's own bricks, whether it be to poor workmanship, mistakes, or the weather.⁸⁵ So although at first glance it appears cheaper to hire a brickmaker rather than purchase bricks ready made, factors such as wastage and fuel for the burning process would probably even it out.

Supply and demand also affected the price of bricks. After James I's proclamations declaring that buildings in London must henceforth be fronted in brick or stone there were problems with brick makers raising prices, 'the brickmakers in [and] about London now, not content (as we are informed) with the improvement of their trade which this generall order for bricke buildinges doth afford them, to their greate benefitt, doe withall enhance the price of bricke to excessive and unreasonable rates'⁸⁶ The problem was still apparent in 1621 when the London Company of Tilers and Bricklayers ordered that builders must stick to the ordinances, which specified the size of bricks and tiles and the measurements of sand carts and sacks of lime. If bricks were not 9 inches long, 4¼ inches wide and 2¼ inches thick, the builder would forfeit 3^s 4^d for every 1000.⁸⁷ Supply and demand may also be the reason why bricks were expensive in York in the 1630s when Matteson was procuring them for Ingram, as brick building was then becoming more fashionable within the town.

Cost was not the only downside to purchasing bricks from outside sources. In 1612 Sheppard needed to finish the wash house at Pishiobury and had paid for 500 bricks but

⁸⁵ CKS, U269/1 E20/1, E20/3; WYASL, WYL100/SH/A4/22.

⁸⁶ *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1617-19* (Liechtenstein: Kraus –Thomson, 1974), p. 490, 29 June 1619.

⁸⁷ Worshipful Company of Tylers and Bricklayers, London, *That the statute of 17 Edward 4, made to preuent the abuses in making of tyles, not prouiding suffiecient remedie against the great mischiefes arising by the great increase of building*, (1621).

they had not been delivered on time.⁸⁸ Delays due to materials not arriving on site when expected would affect cost as the workmen would have to be employed and paid for a longer period of time. Also, it was not only the method of producing bricks and the issue of supply and demand that affected cost, but judging by Sir John Lawrence's letter to Cranfield in 1631, the quality of the earth used influenced price. Lawrence informed Cranfield that the brick maker John Bray needed to view the earth he was to make bricks from before he could estimate a price for the work. Lawrence, therefore, sent Bray to Milcote (presumably from Delaford Manor, his home in Iver, Buckinghamshire, from where he was writing) costing 6^s so he could evaluate the raw materials he would be using.⁸⁹

Richard Sheppard's letters from Pishiobury to Cranfield in London reveal that prices were sometimes higher outside London but the quality of the materials may have been better. In January 1612 Sheppard stated that he required lime to be sent from London as it was cheaper there, but by April of the same year he informed Cranfield not to send any lime as he could procure lime in Hertfordshire which was 'much better then that w^c you can send from thence and y^s not much dearer.'⁹⁰ Unfortunately it is not stated how much the lime actually cost at this time. In 1615, however, it cost 4^s 4^d per quarter.⁹¹ Therefore, a whole chalder would come to 17^s 4^d, significantly more expensive than the prices Ingram was paying around this time. Ingram's accounts reveal he paid 10^s 8^d per chalder of lime in October 1619, but by 1632 only 8^s 8^d per chalder was paid.⁹² Even Ingram's prices seem expensive, however, when compared with the

⁸⁸ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1310], 11 July 1612.

⁸⁹ CKS, U269/1 E69, 7 December 1631.

⁹⁰ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1288;1299].

⁹¹ BL, EG1933, the catalogue description says that the accounts are for Cranfield's Essex home but the date of the account book would suggest they are for Pishiobury.

⁹² WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/3; WYL100/EA/13/18.

results Rogers found for Cambridge, which set a chalders of lime at 6^s between 1619 and 1632.⁹³ These few results highlight that prices varied considerably between regions and there was no clear divide between northern and southern costs.

The price of glass for both Ingram and Cranfield appears very similar, 5-6^d per foot for new glass.⁹⁴ These values correlate with Rogers' findings for the price of glass in Oxford, Cambridge, Eton and Winchester.⁹⁵ Ingram, as well as ordering Dutch glass from London, also benefited from the home glass industry, purchasing six cases of glass from Newcastle in June 1630.⁹⁶ The Mansell monopoly of 1615, which prohibited the use of wood fuel in the making of glass which resulted in the glass industries being centred on coalfields, was obviously advantageous to towns such as Newcastle.⁹⁷ The glass was shipped to eminent customers right down the east coast of England, one example being Sir Henry Hobart who purchased some for his house Blickling Hall in Norfolk, which arrived through the port at Yarmouth.⁹⁸ However, the quality of the glass was not to the highest standard as Inigo Jones and Thomas Baldwin reported that it was very thin and that the best and worst sorts of glass were mixed together.⁹⁹

It is clear from this analysis that the cost of materials was dependant on a variety of factors, most potently the mode of production used and the issue of supply and demand. There was no clear divide between northern and southern prices, with certain materials,

⁹³ James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, VI 1583-1702 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), pp. 484-486.

⁹⁴ CKS, U269/1 E2 [ON391]; U269/1 AP45 [ON8066]; WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/3.

⁹⁵ Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices* VI, p. 473.

⁹⁶ WYASL, WYL178/5.

⁹⁷ D. W. Crossley, "The Performance of the Glass Industry in Sixteenth-Century England," *Economic History Review* 25, 2nd ser., (1972): 421-33 (p. 429).

⁹⁸ Stanley-Millson and Newman, "Blickling Hall," p. 6.

⁹⁹ TNA, SP14/113, fol. 102, 29 March 1620.

such as glass, being a constant price throughout the country, and others, such as lime, varying greatly between regions.

iii) Carriage

The amount of carriage required to transport materials to the house greatly impacted on the cost of materials. Carriage was expensive throughout the country, whether in the north or south. The cost could be eased by using water transport, which was considerably cheaper than carrying goods by road. This is evident in many building accounts of the period which mention materials being carried from the ‘waterside’ to the house, suggesting the bulk of the journey was done by sea or river, leaving only a small distance to move the materials from the wharf to the building itself. The high cost of land transport is illustrated by the ridiculously high cost of 18^s paid by Matteson to carry 2000 bricks from Marygate (presumably the bottom end of the road which met the River Ouse) to Ingram’s almshouse in Bootham, which covered a very short distance, (see Map 4).¹⁰⁰ Even the king found land carriage costly and coerced his Hertfordshire neighbours to aid freight of goods to and from Theobalds. The inhabitants of Sawbridgeworth had previously been obliged to facilitate the king but a letter dated 20 September 1614 stated that the distance between Sawbridgeworth and Theobalds had recently been measured and it was over 14 miles, the distance the proclamation specified that within which people were required to assist with royal carriage.¹⁰¹ Therefore Cranfield’s property at Pishiobury was just outside the parameters, rescuing him from extra carriage costs.

¹⁰⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/15, 21 April 1632.

¹⁰¹ CKS, U269/1 E43 [ON4389].

It may be, then, that the primary factor in whether owners used materials from afar was whether the property was near a waterway which could aid carriage. Ingram often transported materials from London to his Yorkshire properties, and eased the financial burden of this by covering the greatest distance over water, often shipping them from the River Thames to the port of Hull. It is clear from James Rosendale's receipt that many people were involved in the carriage of goods as he received payment for the freight of goods from Hull to York, William Clark was paid for the freight from London to Hull, and £1 was paid for four men's passage to Hull (presumably accompanying the materials), with three men then going on to York at a cost of 6^s.¹⁰² Someone was needed to watch over the materials, both *en route* and at the port, and Sir Arthur wrote worriedly to Matteson in November 1622 about the safety of supplies, 'I hope you have heard of trees, glass and other things I sent to Hull, the which I fear we hath lain long there and nobody hath looked after them.'¹⁰³

John Baker recorded in his account the payment of 9^s to Radley 'for Boathyer hence to Tadcaster of y^e 4 woodden chimney peeces, and 7 mantletrees of stone y^t came from London wth some 12^d charges he laid out at Tadcaster concerning them.'¹⁰⁴ These materials would then have been transported, presumably by land, from Tadcaster to York which was roughly 9 miles. Ingram was clearly transporting a lot of materials for chimney pieces at this time as just over a week earlier Thomas Hambleton and Thomas Palmer received payment for 'ffreight of seaven cheste of chimney peece stones from Gainsbrough to York ... included y^e freight of them cheste from London to Gainsbrough

¹⁰² WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/15, 13 August 1621.

¹⁰³ WYASL, WYL100/C/1/165, 25 November 1622.

¹⁰⁴ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 31 May 1629.

....¹⁰⁵ Ingram must have transported these chimneypieces by water to Gainsborough, but it is not stated whether he then used water or land carriage to get them from Gainsborough to York. The cost of the carriage, however, can help one deduce the form of transportation used. The freight of each chest from London to Gainsborough was 3^s, so that leg of the journey only cost Ingram £1 1^s. Hambleton and Palmer received £3 10^s but the wording of the receipt makes it unclear whether this included the £1 1^s for the greatest distance the chests were carried or not. Either way, the remaining part of the journey, from Gainsborough to York, costing at least £2 9^s and at most £3 10^s, suggests this part of the journey was done over land as it was more expensive for a shorter distance. Gainsborough, being in Lincolnshire, is quite a distance from Ingram's Yorkshire properties, and only the fact that he had an estate in Laughton (roughly 6 miles from Gainsborough), which he had obtained through his land exchange with Cranfield in 1622, explains why he did not ship the goods straight to Hull or Tadcaster. Perhaps some of the goods from London were intended for the house at Laughton, and therefore all the materials were taken north together, with a stop off in Lincolnshire.

Hertfordshire benefited not only from a network of rivers to aid carriage from London but the roads were some of the best in the country. Hunneyball also draws attention to the fact that '[b]y 1637, there was a regular coach service to St Albans, the earliest recorded in the country, with carrier routes out to at least seven other destinations around the county.'¹⁰⁶ Sheppard recorded that 140 feet of stone was sent to Stanstead from London which he believed would cost at least 30^s, which he was then to take in three carts back to Pishiobury, roughly eight miles away.¹⁰⁷ This price is very low

¹⁰⁵ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 20 May 1629.

¹⁰⁶ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1303], 21 May 1612.

compared to the sum Cranfield paid Peter Thornton to carry the porch to Pishiobury, being £9 10^s.¹⁰⁸ This suggests that the stone came from London to Stanstead by water whereas the porch came by road. For his house in St Bartholomew's Cranfield brought timber from Twickenham. It took seven journeys to transport all the wood, which included carting the timber to the waterside (5^s), bringing it by barge to London (12^s), and then the 'wharfige Cranage and Caryage to St Johnes' at 12^s.¹⁰⁹ Even when using water transport there was always a wharfage fee required and some land carriage to pay for. Cranfield also paid for carrying white marble to St Bartholomew's, but he procured this relatively locally at Tower Hill. The marble was 'lead' to St Bart's, suggesting it was taken by cart rather than water, which may explain the cost, at 22^d per load, which was quite expensive for such a short distance.¹¹⁰

Carriage was a vital component of the cost of acquiring materials and was only eased by access to water routes. Therefore, proximity to rivers or the sea was much more influential than whether one lived in the north or the south. The selection of materials, their cost, and the price of carriage were all subject to various factors but were certainly not restricted by any north-south divide. Regional variations are clearly apparent, but for members of the elite it was wealth which secured the best materials and could overcome geographical limitations. Ingram and Cranfield used their new found wealth to acquire distinct materials which could project their stature through the fabric of their houses. The craftsmen they employed were sometimes influential in securing specific materials,

¹⁰⁸ CKS, U269 A512 [ON9117].

¹⁰⁹ CKS, U269 A508/3, 23 July 1638. St. Johns was not far from Cranfield's house at St. Bartholomew's, and as stated in Chapter 1, Cranfield owned tenements in St. John's Street where he may have stored the wood.

¹¹⁰ CKS, U269 A451 Bundle C.

particularly in the case of the masons Cranfield employed from the City guild, and were essential in assuring the materials were used to accentuate the eminence of the building.

5.2 Craftsmen

In the foreword to Malcolm Airs' seminal text on the building history of Tudor and Jacobean country houses, Mark Girouard comments that there is a lack of owner and workmen's perspectives on buildings and that 'such accounts cannot be hoped for' due to 'the inevitable result of the lack of relevant archives.'¹¹¹ The papers of both Ingram and Cranfield, however, reveal the views of the men themselves and the craftsmen they commissioned to work on their houses.¹¹² The letters, accounts, and contracts highlight important aspects of the relationships between patron and craftsmen and the economic issues binding them together. This section will evaluate three issues in connection with the craftsmen Ingram and Cranfield employed in an attempt to show that the acquisition of craftsmen was just as crucial in the projection of the employer's image as other aspects of the building process, whilst questioning whether the north-south divide had any effect on the issues concerning the early seventeenth century craftsmen. The social stature of the craftsmen is assessed, looking in particular at the use of relatively high status 'architects' to aid building ventures, which was a progressive measure at this time; the origins of the workers are examined, investigating the extent of craftsmen mobility; and finally the wage rates artificers were paid are considered, specifically in connection to geographical location.

¹¹¹ Mark Girouard, "Foreword" in *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House: A Building History*, by Malcolm Airs, (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995), pp. ix-x.

¹¹² It is interesting to note that Airs himself only makes two fleeting comments about Ingram's building projects (p. 78 and p. 141) and only a few more about Cranfield's building programme, (pp. 78, 129, 130, 152, 185), despite the fact both sets of family papers contain copious material which answer Girouard's plea for 'relevant archives'.

i) Social status of the craftsmen

In the fifty years that Cranfield and Ingram embarked on their building programmes the way building craftsmen were perceived by their contemporaries began to evolve. Although the Elizabethan view expounded by the likes of William Harrison and Thomas Smith that artificers were fourth in the social hierarchy having ‘no voice nor authoritie in our common wealth, and no account is made of them but onelie to be ruled, not to rule other’ could still be applied to many craftsmen of the Stuart era, a more sophisticated artificer was emerging who possessed authority and the ability to rule even patrons.¹¹³ This was the rise of the ‘architect’. John Shute had used the term ‘archytecte’ to describe himself as early as 1563, but it was not until the seventeenth century that architects as a distinct occupation began to appear.¹¹⁴

In the second half of the sixteenth century the master craftsman both designed and created, using his mind and his hands. He was the ‘mason-architect’ according to Knoop and Jones.¹¹⁵ During the early years of the seventeenth century, however, a new type of architect began to materialise. Trained in academic rather than manual skills, this architect designed rather than laboured and helped to raise the profession to a liberal, rather than a mechanical, art. There were still, however, many master craftsmen in charge of both design and construction throughout the seventeenth century and it was not until the early eighteenth century, and then only on certain types of project, that craftsmen relinquished their control over design and followed the instructions of the architects above them. The period this study is concerned with, then, can be seen as a

¹¹³ Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, p. 33.

¹¹⁴ John Shute, *The first and chief groundes of architecture vsed in all the auncient and famous monymentes with a farther & more ample defense vppon the same, than hitherto hath been set out by any other. Published by Iohn Shute, paynter and archytecte*, (1563).

¹¹⁵ Knoop and Jones, *The Medieval Mason*, p. 177.

transition stage during which the use of master craftsmen to design and construct buildings had not yet become completely overshadowed by the use of professional architects.

The change in architectural practice was not, as one might think, the simple metamorphosis of master craftsmen into architects. The architect was a new breed altogether, brought in by patrons due to their knowledge of classical and continental styles often attained by personally visiting foreign climes with classical ruins.¹¹⁶ Inigo Jones (1573-1652) is often cited as the first architect of this kind, and is credited by Summerson as crossing the ‘threshold from medieval to ... modern.’¹¹⁷ Jones had acquired first hand knowledge of continental style from his tours of Italy, his first visit being between 1598 and 1603. He also possessed important court connections gained during his early career as a stage designer for the court masques between 1605 and 1613. After being granted the reversion of the surveyorship of the King’s Works in April 1613, Jones embarked on his second trip to Italy where he not only jotted down notes in his copy of Palladio’s *Quattro Libri* but also met Palladio’s former pupil, Vincenzo Scamozzi. When he returned to England and subsequently took up the post of surveyor of the King’s Works after Simon Basil’s death in October 1615, Jones soon began to dominate the field of architecture, monopolising the design of royal buildings and becoming commandeered by a selective elite who wished to acquire his skills.¹¹⁸

Cranfield was one of the successful members of this elite who was privileged enough to receive Jones’ expertise when he designed the gateway for Cranfield’s Chelsea

¹¹⁶ Caroline van Eck, ed., *British Architectural Theory 1540-1750: An Anthology of Texts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 54.

¹¹⁷ Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, p. 104.

¹¹⁸ Newman, “Jones, Inigo (1573–1652),” *ODNB*.

residence. Cranfield was fortunate in that he secured Jones' work at the right time, at the apogee of his own career and before Jones became too busy with royal building works, which led him to rebuff the Earl of Pembroke when he wished to acquire Jones to work at Wilton.¹¹⁹ However, Jones was clearly working for other eminent patrons at the same time as supervising Cranfield's building works at Chelsea. Chamberlain reported in September 1622, that Buckingham was 'altering and translating' New Hall, his home in Essex, 'according to the moderne fashion by the direction of Innigo jones the Kings Surveyor.'¹²⁰

Jones' role at Cranfield's Chelsea house was more pivotal than has previously been thought. Cranfield's papers reveal that Jones not only designed the gateway but orchestrated the majority of the building programme carried out at Chelsea. He informed Cranfield by letter that '[a]ccordinge to yor honors desyre, I have sent yow a mason for yor worke at Chelsey his name is John Medhurst, hee is a hardstone man, and will fytt yor turne well.'¹²¹ Cranfield thus relied on Jones' judgement in the selection of craftsmen to work at Chelsea, and it is clear that the majority of the artificers were under the supervision of Jones. Both William Hare, the joiner, and Richard Talbot, plasterer, were paid by Catchmay for work carried out in 'the lower rooms by direction of Mr Inigo Jones,' whilst Richard Llewellyn, the mason, also worked on the lower rooms, 'his bill remaineing wth Mr Jones by whose direction this money is paid,' and the carpenter John Middleton also had his bill 'rated by Mr Inigo Jones.'¹²² These accounts reveal that Jones was in full control of the workmen, overseeing their work in

¹¹⁹ John Newman, "Introduction" in *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism*, The Georgian Group 1986 Symposium (Leeds: W. S. Maney & Sons, 1987): 5-7, (p. 5).

¹²⁰ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 413, 25 September 1622, p. 452.

¹²¹ CKS, U269/1 E15/1.

¹²² CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156].

the lower rooms at the back of the house, whilst also taking responsibility for the amount of money they were to receive for their work. It is significant that Jones is always termed as ‘Mr’ distinguishing him from the other craftsmen. Jones is recorded in accounts as the surveyor of the works at Chelsea between January and May 1623, whilst after that ‘Mr Carter’ takes over his role, directing the modifications in the lower rooms as well as ‘building a walle abowte the grounds neer Chellsey howse.’¹²³ This was no doubt John Carter, Master of the Bricklayers’ Company 1616-7, whom Cranfield consulted about work on the loggia at Copt Hall.¹²⁴ Like Jones, Carter also received the significant ascription of ‘Mr’ in the accounts, marking him out as a craftsman of note who was adept at surveying as well as bricklaying. The fact that Jones departed from Chelsea before the building works were completed suggests Cranfield was largely at his whim and that Jones had an autonomous role, moving on to begin work on the chapel at St. James’ Palace which would secure him greater acclaim.¹²⁵

Unlike Cranfield’s architectural associations with Jones, no clear link between Ingram’s building programme and Jones has ever been proffered despite the fact Ingram knew him just as well as Cranfield, the three of them all dining together at the Mitre in London along with the eleven other distinguished gentlemen which made up the circle

¹²³ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156].

¹²⁴ Newman infers from the composition of Carter’s estimate for the loggia at Copt Hall, stating the brick work first then providing headings such as mason’s work and carpenter’s work for work utilising other materials, that Carter is a brick layer not a mason and he identifies him as one John Carter, Master of the Bricklayers’ Company in 1616-7, Newman “Copthall, Essex,” p. 28, fn 24; Although Jones was also associated with Edward Carter, who worked with him on the design of Covent Garden, it is more than likely John Carter who acted as surveyor at Chelsea due to the fact he was also paid to build a brick wall, Dianne Duggan, “‘London the Ring, Covent Garden the Jewell of That Ring’: New Light on Covent Garden,” *Architectural History* 43 (2000): 140-161, (Endnote 11).

¹²⁵ Jones also began work on the interior of the Tudor chapel at Greenwich and the interior of the House of Lords at this time, Newman, “Jones, Inigo (1573–1652),” *ODNB*.

of wits.¹²⁶ There is an intriguing payment, however, of £10 to a ‘Mr Jones’ on 23 December 1615 by Ingram when building works were being carried out at his house at Stratford-le-Bowe, and also a payment to a ‘Mr Carter’ in the same accounts, who received £20 from Ingram in May 1616.¹²⁷ Without first names it is hard to ascertain the identity and role of these personages but the fact that both a ‘Mr Jones’ and a ‘Mr Carter’ were paid relatively significant sums by Ingram within a short period of time (a time, no less, which coincides with building work at Bowe) suggests they could indeed be Inigo Jones and John Carter, the two men that orchestrated Cranfield’s rebuilding at Chelsea. Whether they were paid for assisting Ingram’s building works is also questionable, but is worth further investigation in a future study.

Cranfield’s appreciation of Jones’ architectural insight is in no doubt, and neither is Cranfield’s impressive acquisition of numerous members of the Royal Works to aid his building ventures at Chelsea. As Lord Treasurer Cranfield presumably had access to the craftsmen selected for the works of the king and he blatantly took full advantage of the available talent. For example, Richard Talbot plastered the low rooms at Chelsea along with the new nursery and Cranfield’s study, and was Master Plasterer to the King between 1625 and 1627, and his predecessor James Leigh, who held the position of Master between 1610-1625, also worked at Chelsea in 1623.¹²⁸ Leigh had previously fretted the gallery ceiling at Hatfield House for Robert Cecil, and worked at Somerset House and the Queen’s House at Greenwich, testifying to both his skill and knowledge

¹²⁶ See Chapter 2, p. 100.

¹²⁷ WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4; Inigo Jones was paid the same sum by Robert Cecil in 1610 ‘for drawinge of some Architecture’, suggesting the payment could have been enough to pay for some of Jones’ designs, Gordon Higgott, “Style and Technique,” in *Inigo Jones: Complete Architectural Drawings*, eds., John Harris and Gordon Higgott (New York: The Drawing Centre, 1989): 25-29, (p. 26).

¹²⁸ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156]; U269/1 AP45 [ON8020;8031;8034]; *The History of the King’s Works III:1 1485-1660*, eds. H. M. Colvin, D. R. Ransome, and John Summerson, (London: HMSO, 1975), Appendix F, p. 410.

of current tastes.¹²⁹ Even after his impeachment Cranfield still managed to commission members of the Royal Works, securing Hugh Justice, Sergeant Plumber from 1631 to 1639, to work at both Copt Hall and his house in St Bartholomew's.¹³⁰ Hugh Justice's will clearly shows he was a craftsman of high social standing as he not only defined himself as 'servant and plomber to the kinges Ma^{tie}', but titled himself as an Esquire.¹³¹ Cranfield's reputation as a builder would have been boosted by the employment of several craftsmen who had worked on the royal residences and on the houses of other eminent courtiers. Cranfield's influence can be seen by the fact that many of the craftsmen he commissioned went on to work for other eminent patrons, with Hugh Justice himself being procured by the Earl of Holland after his tenant Cranfield had finished with him.¹³² Similarly, Matthew Goodrich, the painter, whom Nicholas Stone commissioned for Cranfield in 1639 at Copt Hall, then worked at Holland House, St Paul's Church, Covent Garden, Ham House in Surrey and painted some of the mouldings at the Queen's House, Greenwich.¹³³

Ingram commissioned few craftsmen of gentle status at his northern residences, although the glass-painter Barnard Dinninckhoff who worked at Sheriff Hutton was clearly a gentleman as he possessed a coat of arms, which he included in his glass work at Gilling Castle.¹³⁴ At his house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, however, Ingram commissioned several craftsmen whom he referred to as 'Mr'; accounts record a Mr Lillie, plumber, Mr Styles, mason, Mr Butler, glazier, and Mr Arthur, painter.¹³⁵ The

¹²⁹ Gapper, Newman and Ricketts, "Hatfield: A House for a Lord Treasurer," p. 82.

¹³⁰ *History of the King's Works III:1*, Appendix F, p. 411.

¹³¹ TNA, Prob/11/178.

¹³² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/74.

¹³³ CKS, U269 A462/5; Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 152.

¹³⁴ Brighton, "The enamel glass-painters of York: 1585-1795," I, p. 8.

¹³⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/3, Mr Ireland's account; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, work was carried out between 1633 and 1641.

glazier may have been Richard Butler who painted a window for Cecil's chapel at Hatfield which depicted the biblical story of Jonah and the whale.¹³⁶ Jonah and the whale was the subject of one of the paintings John Carleton produced for Ingram for Temple Newsam, which was more than likely hung in the chapel there (Figure 70).¹³⁷ These links may, then, identify Ingram's glazier at Dean's Yard, who may have provided painted glasswork for the new chapel that Ingram built there in 1636.¹³⁸

The carpenter Peter Thornton was also working at Ingram's London home, and is named in accounts as 'Mister Thornton', but at times just called 'Peter', signifying he was a craftsman of considerable status but also friendly with Ingram.¹³⁹ It has been stated that Cranfield employed a carpenter called Peter Thornton about his work at both Wood Street and Pishiobury, but guild records reveal that it is unlikely that this craftsman was the same one employed by Ingram nearly twenty years later. The Peter Thornton that Cranfield employed was a warden of the Carpenter's Company in 1610, 1612 and 1615, and was elected as Master in 1622 but was discharged from the duty after he made his reasons to the court of why he would like to be excused.¹⁴⁰ It can be assumed that one of these reasons was his 'Antiquiye', and in 1623 the note 'R^d of Richard Cuuggerton late apprentice unto Peter Thornton for his habling by Thomas Birckhead to whome he was turned over, iii^s iiiii^d' suggests Thornton had died not long after relinquishing the request to be master of the company.¹⁴¹ Therefore the Peter Thornton that Ingram employed could not be the same carpenter who had constructed Cranfield's porch, and was more than likely his son. Other connections between Ingram

¹³⁶ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, p. 218; Bracken, "Robert Cecil as Art Collector," p. 121.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 6, p. 309.

¹³⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/3.

¹³⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, January 1635.

¹⁴⁰ London Guildhall, MSS 21742/1; MSS 4329/4.

¹⁴¹ London Guildhall, MSS 4329/4, fols. 72 and 86^v.

and Cranfield and the workmen they employed can be noted, such as Ingram's employment of the carpenter John Middleton at his Westminster home in the 1630s, roughly ten years after a carpenter of the same name was working for Cranfield at Chelsea.¹⁴² John Middleton was apprenticed to Thomas Whyte in 1611 and received the right to wear a freeman's gown (in the accounts he was presented for his 'habling') in October 1619, two and a half years before he began working at Chelsea.¹⁴³ Ingram and Cranfield both employed members of the London guild companies, then, but Cranfield rose above Ingram by also commissioning craftsmen of the Royal Works. However, Ingram clearly had associations with some of the king's craftsmen, as is explained below.

The bricklayer, Walter Hall, was recorded in Ingram's papers as working on his house in Dean's Yard in the 1630s and early 1640s, and was presumably employed by Ingram as he worked on many other residences in the college close, such as Dr. John Wilson's house in 1631, and did various repair work around the college close between 1636 and 1637.¹⁴⁴ The carpenter that helped to construct Dr. John Wilson's new house in 1631 was Richard Vessey, who later appears in the Holland House accounts.¹⁴⁵ The building accounts for Holland House between 1638 and 1640 are contained in Sir Arthur Ingram's papers. Malcolm Airs presumes the documents were 'inadvertently left at that house [Temple Newsam] when the Earl of Holland was negotiating the marriage of his eldest son to the daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram,' and dismisses any notion of Ingram's

¹⁴² WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/3, Mr Ireland's account; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156]; U269/1 AP45 [ON8022;8023;8024;8028;8032;8042;8065]; U269/1 AP58.

¹⁴³ London Guildhall, MSS 4326/6, fol. 414; MSS 4329/4, fol. 23.

¹⁴⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/3, Mr Ireland's account; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, November 1641; WAM, MSS 41742; MSS 41884(2); MSS 41884(3).

¹⁴⁵ WAM, MSS 41742; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/74.

involvement in the project in one fell swoop.¹⁴⁶ Not only does it seem unlikely that the Earl of Holland would have these accounts with him whilst visiting Temple Newsam (unless he was consulting Ingram about them) but Ingram's own household accounts include evidence which confirms Ingram was involved in Holland's building scheme. During the period defined by the accounts, Holland received numerous large sums of money from Ingram.¹⁴⁷ Exactly why Ingram was paying out significant sums of money for Holland's building project is unclear, but, as Airs states, a marriage settlement between the families was being discussed at this time. Ingram's granddaughter Elizabeth married Holland's son in 1641 and Ingram's disbursement of funds to Holland may have been part of his efforts to secure a good match for her.¹⁴⁸ It is more than likely that Ingram's involvement was not just financial and that he may have had a hand in commissioning some of the workmen for the building programme. Many of the workmen employed had previously worked either for Cranfield, or on houses in Dean's Yard, suggesting Ingram would be familiar with them. Prominent members of the Royal Works who were working there included the plumber Hugh Justice, the painter Matthew Goodrich, and the bricklayer William Dodson (Master between 1635 and 1637) the son of Robert Dodson (Master between 1619 and 1628) who had erected new buildings for Cranfield at Chelsea.¹⁴⁹ The joiner William Glover regularly worked for Ingram at his

¹⁴⁶ Malcolm Airs, "Inigo Jones, Isaac de Caus and the Stables at Holland House," *The Georgian Group Journal* 13 (2003): 141-160, (p. 158, n. 4).

¹⁴⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; Upton also notes Ingram's pivotal role in aiding the financing of the renovations, p. 237.

¹⁴⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/1. Although Airs (p. 158) and Upton (p. 209) claim it was Ingram's daughter Elizabeth who married Robert Rich, 5th Earl of Warwick, it was in fact his granddaughter, Sir Arthur Ingram the younger's daughter, also called Elizabeth. Ingram's daughter Elizabeth, widow of Simon Bennett made her will in June 1636, five years before the marriage between Elizabeth Ingram and Robert Lord Rich took place, TNA, Prob/11/171. References to administrating her estate are found in Ingram's accounts a few months after her will was made suggesting she died not long after making her testament, WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, see specifically 26 February 1637.

¹⁴⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/74; *History of the King's Works III:1*, Appendix F, p. 410; CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 22 July 1623; U269/1 AP45 [ON8092]; William Dodson had also

house in Dean's Yard and was also recorded in Ingram's own accounts (rather than the Holland House accounts) as working at Lady Kensington's house in December 1641, where he was directly paid by Ingram.¹⁵⁰ The fact that the Earl of Holland trusted Ingram to commission artificers to work at Holland House suggests he considered Ingram a competent builder with valuable links to accomplished craftsmen.

Although it is clear connections and social status were important in attaining highly skilled craftsmen, even the most eminent patrons could not always get the craftsmen they desired, as Cecil found out when he was building Hatfield House. Cecil was unable to employ the king's carpenter, plasterer or master mason as they were already employed at Knole by Thomas Sackville, then Lord Treasurer.¹⁵¹ Hunneyball notes that merchants with government ties found it easier to gain craftsmen like Nicholas Stone who operated in both the city and in royal service.¹⁵² Cranfield, himself heavily linked with both the City and the Court, employed Stone mainly at his residence at Copt Hall and also to construct his tomb.¹⁵³ However, he too had to wait on his craftsmen on occasions, such as when Stone was attended the king, 'I have ben with Mr Stone and his occasions are such that he could not come to yo honor this morning for that he weights one his Maiesty today'.¹⁵⁴

It can be assumed that it was the connections Cranfield had made whilst prominent at court that enabled him to continue acquiring workmen of a high calibre after his political downfall. Networking, rather than wealth, appears more influential, as when

been involved in the building of certain houses in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1638, see TNA, SP16/418, fol. 49, 19 April 1639.

¹⁵⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/3, Mr Ireland's account; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

¹⁵¹ Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 93.

¹⁵² Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 93.

¹⁵³ CKS, U269/1 E54-5; U269 E291/3.

¹⁵⁴ CKS U269/1 E54, 24 December 1638.

Cranfield embarked on his first building venture on Wood Street he had a significant amount of money but was yet to establish himself as part of the court elite. The workmen Cranfield employed at Wood Street, despite his burgeoning wealth, were clearly not the best in the field. The particular craftsman, who, according to Thomas Gardiner, made a ‘botcher’s beginning’, positioned the columns so far under the jetty that the joists sank and new foundations were needed.¹⁵⁵ A bill for the paintwork carried out at Wood Street also hints at Cranfield’s use of inexperienced workmen in his first building venture. Daniel Robinson totalled his work, which included painting ‘the Archeworke, the compting house’ and ‘pryming of the gable end’, to £5 18^s 6^d but underneath the sum is the caveat ‘[t]his worke is to be judged by a paynter and what he sayeth it is worth daniell wyll have.’ Robinson received in total £4 for his work, so it was clearly not judged to be worthy of his full bill.¹⁵⁶ However, there are signs that Cranfield was seeking out accomplished craftsmen even at this stage. The craftsmen who rescued the ‘botcher’s beginning’ was Peter Thornton, who went on to construct a porch for Cranfield at Pishiobury and was a prominent member of the guild of carpenters, whilst Daniel Robinson’s painting was checked by Paul Isaacson, a prominent member of the Painter-Stainers’ company of London, who was around this time working on the great stairs at Knole.¹⁵⁷ Richard Isaacson was later paid by Cranfield for painting at Chelsea, and was presumably the son of Paul Isaacson who was named by Paul as the sole executor of his will.¹⁵⁸ Paul Isaacson was obviously a

¹⁵⁵ *Cranfield Papers 1*, pp. 59-60. See Chapter 3, p. 149.

¹⁵⁶ CKS, U269/1 E2 [ON386], 14 December 1604.

¹⁵⁷ Peter Thornton at Wood Street, CKS, U269/1 E2 [ON388]; Peter Thornton at Pishiobury, CKS U269 A512; Paul Isaacson at Wood Street, CKS, U269/1 E2 [ON386]; Paul Isaacson at Knole, Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 373.

¹⁵⁸ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 19 October and 20 December 1622. Although Paul Isaacson had a brother named Richard Isaacson, who was also a painter-stainer, he had died in 1621 before the work was carried out at Chelsea (his will was made on 8 November 1620, TNA Prob/11/137) suggesting the Richard in Cranfield’s accounts was the son of Paul, named in his will which was made in July 1650 and proven in August 1655, TNA, Prob/11/244. For further

craftsman of considerable wealth, owning ‘five Messuages or Tenements in ffennchurch streete’, which were left to his son Richard, suggesting that Cranfield employed not only workmen of considerable social standing but also prosperous artificers.¹⁵⁹

Cranfield used a surveyor, often considered the forerunner of the architect, to take in hand his work at Weston Vicarage in Gloucestershire, part of the land and property that he gained in his exchange with Ingram. Ralph Davies, the surveyor, was described as ‘of Milcoate’ and presumably also oversaw work for Cranfield at his Warwickshire home. At Weston he surveyed the work of John Francis, carpenter, and William Burford, mason, both of whom lived in Stratford-upon-Avon. In Francis’ contract it is stated that he shall make all the partitions of the house ‘accordinge to ye plott drawne by the s^d Raphe’, and many decisions on placement and height of windows and doors were left to the surveyor’s direction.¹⁶⁰ Davies clearly had a high element of control not only over the workmen he was supervising but also within the design process, drawing the plan himself. Nicholas Stone’s role at Copt Hall was similar to that of a surveyor, in the fact that he requisitioned craftsmen for Cranfield and took charge of the payment of them. The glazier Baptist Sutton, the carver Zachary Taylor and the painter Matthew Goodrich were all working for Stone rather than for Cranfield.¹⁶¹ This organisation of tradesmen resembles the hierarchical framework at Chelsea whereby Jones commissioned craftsmen for Cranfield and supervised their payment. A letter from Stone to Cranfield also suggests that Cranfield consulted Stone not just as a surveyor, but also as an architect, with Stone stating that ‘I send you also herewth the plot of

information on the Isaacson family see P. E. McCullough, “Isaacson, Henry (*bap.* 1581, *d.* 1654),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 08/07/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14480>.

¹⁵⁹ TNA, Prob/11/244.

¹⁶⁰ CKS, U269 E234/1.

¹⁶¹ CKS, U269/1 E54-5; U269 A462/5.

Melcott which I have not had the time since to do any thinge to But now as I am wrightinge I conceive it is Better that I kepe this and make a perfite one for yor Lo which shall be forthwth donne and sent downe upon the first occasion.'¹⁶² Unfortunately Stone did not send the less than perfect copy of the plot with this letter and no other plans of Milcote House have been located in the archives so no analysis of the design can be carried out. But the fact that Cranfield commissioned Stone to draw a plot of his Warwickshire home, which at this time was his main country residence, indicates that Cranfield still sought out specialist craftsmen after his downfall, and used the progressive measure of consulting an 'architect' rather than a master-craftsman.

By contrast, 'Mr Garrat the surveyor at Bow', who was paid 6^s by Ingram in July 1616, is the only surveyor mentioned in any of Ingram's papers, suggesting that he may have used a surveyor at his London property but relied on his stewards and master-craftsmen at his northern houses to carry out the building procedure.¹⁶³ The only extant plans for Ingram's properties are of New Lodge at Sheriff Hutton, some drawn by Dinninckhoff, better known for his skills in glass-painting than his architectural capabilities, and some drawn by Richard Wilson, the master carpenter. Neither of these craftsmen were professional architects, and although Brighton has noted Dinninckhoff's possible familial connections to several Bohemian architects, Dinninckhoff himself has only left behind his glasswork as evidence of his talents, suggesting he was a glass painter first and foremost, and only had aspirations to be an architect.¹⁶⁴ Apart from the plans and the receipt for glazing Ingram's windows at Sheriff Hutton in 1618, there are no further

¹⁶² CKS, U269/1 E55, 8 July 1638.

¹⁶³ WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

¹⁶⁴ Brighton, "The enamel glass-painters of York: 1585-1795," I, p. 7; As described in Chapter 4, Dinninckhoff's plans for Sheriff Hutton were a pale imitation of the finished building, and even if elements of his design were carried out, the plans were not an exact blue print for New Lodge. Similarly, the plans he created for Sheriff Hutton gatehouse were never realised, leaving his ambitions of becoming an 'architect' unfulfilled.

mentions of Dinninckhoff in Ingram's accounts, suggesting he did not have a continual involvement with the building process, whereas the master-carpenter Richard Wilson worked on the structure of the house as well as providing designs, implying Ingram opted for the 'mason-architect' approach.¹⁶⁵ All Ingram's northern building sites were governed by master craftsmen, and this was certainly not an unusual arrangement in this period, but was typical.¹⁶⁶ This may be why few drawings and plans survive for Ingram's houses as the master craftsman himself was responsible for both design and building so it was not necessary for him to draw plans for other craftsmen to follow, whereas when an architect was consulted on the design process but not involved with the building work he needed to provide a plan to communicate his ideas to both the patron and the craftsmen who were to put his design into practise.¹⁶⁷

Without a technically trained architect, master craftsmen often worked with the patron on design, the patron most likely contributing ideas on the latest trends he desired and the craftsmen modifying them to make them viable. It was not uncommon for master craftsmen to give their views on a patron's design and the practical problems that it might incur.¹⁶⁸ William Butler, the master carpenter at New Park, instructed John Matteson to tell Ingram that his plans for the gallery were not practical, 'for the gallery Butler thinks you cannot have it where you appointed, but it will be a darkening to your rooms, do what can be, but he conceives you may have one, on the east side to the plain of the park without any blemish to any window where the new addition is.'¹⁶⁹ The carpenter Richard Wilson and the bricklayer William Maxfield were both consulted

¹⁶⁵ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A3/2/5.

¹⁶⁶ John Smythson, 'mason-architect', is another example, overseeing work at Bolsover Castle.

¹⁶⁷ Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practise in England from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 20.

¹⁶⁸ Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 43.

¹⁶⁹ WYASL, WYL178/5, 12 November 1641.

when Ingram wished to alter a chamber at York. Viewing the chamber alongside Mr Iverson, Mr White, Oliver Kearsley, and John Matteson they obviously provided the technical advice that otherwise would have been lacking.¹⁷⁰ Using craftsmen instead of architects to construct houses often gave the patron more freedom to realize his own ideas. The Duchess of Marlborough later observed that ‘able workmen ... would do as ... directed which no architect will, though you pay for it’ demonstrating the control the architect had over the design process, which appears evident in Jones’ work at Chelsea.¹⁷¹

Household stewards often acted as intermediary between patron and craftsmen, and both Ingram and Cranfield relied heavily on the stewards at their houses to inform them of business on site.¹⁷² John Baker wrote to Ingram of the plasterers’ suggestion for lathing the cellar between the joists rather than on top of them, which would add more depth to the cellar. Baker made it clear, however, that the final decision was to lie with Sir Arthur, ‘I will sett y^t to be lathed so soone as I shall heare from you, whether you like to have y^t lathed between y^e iuyces as I said.’¹⁷³ Similarly, Thomas Gardiner wrote to Cranfield informing him that he needed to visit his property in Wood Street to speak with Mr Thornton who wanted to move the parlour chimney as ‘if it should be where you thought to have it, the shed without will cost as much as the new building of the chimneys, for that all the bricks and mantel ties will serve again.’¹⁷⁴ Mr Thornton was clearly trying to save Cranfield money with his advice but it was ultimately up to Cranfield, when he visited his house, whether he heeded this advice.

¹⁷⁰ WYASL, WYL100/C/1/174, 14 November 1622.

¹⁷¹ Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough’s letter in 1732, cited in Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, p. 45.

¹⁷² Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 58.

¹⁷³ WYASL, WYL100/C/2/295, 16 August 1628.

¹⁷⁴ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 60.

The workmen mentioned so far have been skilled craftsmen, trained in their trade and part of the guild organisation, but a significant part of the work force consisted of semi-skilled craftsmen and labourers who were evidently of a lower social status and were usually drawn from the estate. Woodward notes that trying to identify specific labourers in accounts can be difficult as they are often not named, their anonymity symbolizing their 'lowly social position.'¹⁷⁵ This is emphasized in a letter by Matteson to Ingram when he informed him '[t]he poor men which you agreed with to level the garden and outer court are doing it now.'¹⁷⁶ However, a considerable number of the labourers in Ingram and Cranfield's accounts were named, and were generally estate workers. Even Cranfield used labour available on his estates, one example being the employment of George Cooke as a weeder at Pishiobury who was his tenant there.¹⁷⁷ Many accounts reveal members of the same family working on the same estate. Women are often found in the accounts as weeders, and are often named with the prefix 'goodwife', and then a surname matching one of the male workers on site.¹⁷⁸ Airs notes that 'in almost every case the women were related to labourers already working on the site', suggesting that it was very rare to find a woman independently seeking work.¹⁷⁹ Woodward recognises that women of the time were 'a hidden army of labour', who rarely showed up in accounts despite probably working on the estate. He notes that women often came 'more fully visible' after the deaths of their husbands.¹⁸⁰ Certainly, Susan Lawson,

¹⁷⁵ Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450-1750*, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Pastime 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 94.

¹⁷⁶ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A4/22, 22 October 1621; Hiring 'poor men' to carry out menial tasks could present Ingram in one of two lights, either as an employer providing opportunities for the poor or as an unscrupulous business man exploiting cheap labour.

¹⁷⁷ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8070].

¹⁷⁸ BL, EG1933; CKS, U269 A516/2; U269 A409.

¹⁷⁹ Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 170.

¹⁸⁰ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 23.

widow of John Baker, steward to Ingram, does not appear in accounts before her husband's death but afterwards is recorded as the person who delivered oatmeal to the prisoners in York Castle for Sir Arthur.¹⁸¹ Off-spring also often worked with their parents, which is clear from the fact they were often only entered in accounts as someone's daughter or son, not by name. In 1641 Stevens' daughter worked at Copt Hall with her father, earning 4^d a day for raking.¹⁸² Similarly, 'Wells girle' was paid 6^d by Matteson, along with the weeders, suggesting she was doing equivalent work to Stevens' daughter at Copt Hall.¹⁸³ '[Y]ounge huthwate' was paid by Matteson to mend the gutters over the gallery at York, and was presumably the son of John Hewthwaite, plumber, also employed by Ingram at York.¹⁸⁴ Whilst in London, Ingram paid 'Glover's boy for turneing ye spitt', showing that the carpenter William Glover's son got an undesirable task.¹⁸⁵

This discussion has highlighted the vital relationship between patron and craftsmen in the building process. The 'architects' and surveyors that Cranfield employed had great control over the construction process, selecting specific craftsmen to work under them and paying them directly. Cranfield's surveyor at Weston Vicarage, Ralph Davies, also had authority over the designs to be carried out, although whether Cranfield would have relinquished such control during the building of his own residences is debatable. Even Ingram was subject to the influence of his master-craftsmen, who gave their views on the viability of Ingram's ideas, although Ingram appears to have had the final say. Although Cranfield was essentially under the direction of architects such as Jones and

¹⁸¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/20.

¹⁸² CKS, U269 A409.

¹⁸³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/15, 21 April 1632.

¹⁸⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/15, 20 April 1632.

¹⁸⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/19a, 2 July 1636.

Stone, his ability to acquire their expertise would reinforce his elevated status in society and help realise his designs in creating houses which could compete with some of the best in the country. Similarly, Ingram's involvement in the remodelling of Holland House marked him out to contemporaries as a builder with good connections to esteemed craftsmen. Some of the craftsmen who worked in the north on Ingram's building programme were later employed not only at Holland House, but also at Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge, signifying that the north-south divide did not restrict the acquisition of craftsmen, a topic the next section analyses in detail.

ii) Craftsmen mobility

Emanuel van Meteren, a merchant from Antwerp who moved to London during Elizabeth's reign, concluded from his tour around England in 1575 that 'the most toilsome, difficult, and skilful works are chiefly performed by foreigners'.¹⁸⁶ A large number of the foreign craftsmen working in England were from the Netherlands and as Louw states, 'by the end of the sixteenth century Anglo-Netherlandish architectural interchange was a well established phenomenon.'¹⁸⁷ As implied by Louw's use of the word 'interchange' it was not just foreign craftsmen coming here, but English craftsmen also went to the Netherlands. One of whom was Nicholas Stone, who worked at Copt Hall for Cranfield and designed his tomb, and who went to Amsterdam with the mason Hendrick de Keyser, with whom he stayed for roughly six years. After Stone returned to England, with his new wife (de Keyser's daughter), he kept in close contact with his new family.¹⁸⁸ Stone's work on the water-gate at York House for Buckingham reflects

¹⁸⁶ Quoted in *England as seen by foreigners in the days of Elizabeth and James the first*, ed., William Benchley Rye, (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), p. 70.

¹⁸⁷ H. J. Louw, "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange c.1600-c.1660," *Architectural History* 24 (1981): 1-144, (p. 1).

¹⁸⁸ Louw, "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange," p. 2.

aspects of his father-in-law's Haarlem Gate at Amsterdam, even though Buckingham's gate was designed by Sir Balthazar Gerbier. Gerbier was also from the Netherlands, but was influenced in his design of the water-gate by the Fontaine de Medicis at the Luxembourg in Paris, which he had more than likely visited.¹⁸⁹ This example alone shows the range of different foreign influences on English architecture in the early seventeenth century and the crucial role craftsmen played in the dissemination of continental style.

Although Ingram and Cranfield employed few foreign craftsmen this does not mean they were unaware of continental trends, as, to take Cranfield as an example, he commissioned both Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone, who had first hand experience of foreign architecture in Italy and the Netherlands. Ingram employed a carver, only named as 'Haunce the dutchman' in accounts, who presumably brought his knowledge of Netherlandish style to bear on the fountains and statues he constructed for Ingram.¹⁹⁰ Dinninckhoff, who had received the freedom of York in 1586, was almost certainly from Bohemia and had settled in York.¹⁹¹ As well as working for Ingram at Sheriff Hutton and Sir William Fairfax at Gilling, he had provided decorative glass for Fountains Hall and for Red House.¹⁹² Another foreign craftsman who had worked for Sir Henry Slingsby at Red House appears in Ingram's account. The sculptor Andreas Kearne is recorded in the day book for Sheriff Hutton as casting lead pots, and it has been suggested that he also produced a garden sculpture for Ingram.¹⁹³ Kearne was probably of German origin despite being known to many as a Dutchman, and it is likely

¹⁸⁹ Louw, "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange," pp. 3-4.

¹⁹⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/39; WYL178/5, April 1628, unfortunately these fountains and statues are no longer extant.

¹⁹¹ Brighton, "The enamel glass-painters of York: 1585-1795," I, p. 7.

¹⁹² Brighton, "The enamel glass-painters of York: 1585-1795," I, p. 10.

¹⁹³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25, 28 July 1638; see Chapter 7, p. 400.

he stayed in the Netherlands between leaving Germany and arriving in England.¹⁹⁴ His time in the Low Countries more than likely influenced his work, which betrayed a hint of Netherlandish style which Ingram appeared to have favoured in the works of art he collected.¹⁹⁵ Kearne's reputation was strengthened by his acquaintance with Nicholas Stone, and it is more than likely his statue of Charles I for the Royal Exchange came to fruition through Stone's aid.¹⁹⁶ It is possible Ingram was impressed by Kearne's work on show in the city and therefore commissioned him to provide adornments to his gardens in the north.

Ingram and Cranfield largely commissioned native craftsmen, and relied heavily on artificers who were members of the guild organisations of York and London. York was the northern equivalent of London in terms of a training centre for skilled craftsmen, and the prominence of the city in this respect rose throughout the seventeenth century. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Etty dynasty, to take an example, was well established, with William Etty becoming master mason at Castle Howard, North Yorkshire, and Seaton Delaval, Northumberland, working to the designs of John Vanbrugh.¹⁹⁷ Nicholas Hawksmoor recommended William's son to Lord Carlisle in 1734 as 'bread up in ye way of Building under his father,' emphasising the family trade.¹⁹⁸ Ingram had employed one of the first distinguished members of the Etty family when the carpenter James Etty (made free in 1628) was commissioned to work on the

¹⁹⁴ Adam White, "Andreas Kearne (fl. 1627-1641)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 12/03/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15209>.

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 6, pp. 306-7.

¹⁹⁶ White, "Andreas Kearne (fl. 1627-1641)," *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁷ Green, "Houses and Households," p. 293; Geoffrey Beard, *Georgian Craftsmen and their work* (London: Country Life Ltd, 1966), p. 22.

¹⁹⁸ Cited in Beard, *Georgian Craftsmen and their work*, p. 23.

staircases at Bootham Almshouses.¹⁹⁹ The Ingrams continued to employ members of the Etty family, the carpenter John Etty worked at Temple Newsam between 1674 and 1675.²⁰⁰

The numerous city craftsmen Cranfield employed included Richard Llewellyn, who was a member of the London Mason's Company, although he did not achieve the position of warden until 1634, some years after his work for Cranfield at Chelsea, and was only made Master in 1642.²⁰¹ The early standard of his work may be one of the reasons he was not elected master until late in his career, as in July 1620 he was fined 6^s 8^d for 'misdoing his work at the church in higgin lane'.²⁰² Cranfield's accounts, however, do not record any deficiencies in Llewellyn's work, and the fact he was employed by Cranfield at both Chelsea and Wiston suggests he was satisfied with his craftsmanship. Another, more prominent, freeman of the Mason's Company that Cranfield employed was Edmund Kinsman, who was elected Master in 1635.²⁰³ Kinsman was an accomplished mason who had worked with Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone, and he may have been recommended to Cranfield by Jones, who had earlier worked on Cranfield's Chelsea home.²⁰⁴

Although Stone worked for Cranfield, he is not known to have worked for Ingram despite carrying out work in the north. Stone recorded in his notebook, dated February 1615, that 'I took a tombe and a chemney peces of Ser Henry Belleseess to be set up at

¹⁹⁹ WYASL, WYL100/YO/B/I; *Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Vol. II: 1559-1759*, p. 79.

²⁰⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/3.

²⁰¹ Edward Conder Jnr., *Records of the Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons* (New York: Swan Sonnenschein & co., 1894), p. 294.

²⁰² London Guildhall, MSS 5303/1.

²⁰³ Conder Jnr., *Records of the Hole Crafte and Fellowship of Masons*, p. 294; Newman, "Cophall, Essex," p.25; CKS, U269 A505/1.

²⁰⁴ Newman, "Cophall, Essex," p. 25.

Yorke', Henry Bellasis being the grandfather of Frances Bellasis who later married Thomas Ingram, Arthur's son (see Figure 59).²⁰⁵ Stone was obviously willing to travel the significant distance to York to provide work for his clients so Ingram's distance from London cannot be why he did not employ the London mason, although he did commission Andreas Kearne, who had worked with Stone.²⁰⁶ Nor can distance be used as a reason for not commissioning Inigo Jones to work on his northern residences, as Jones is believed to have carried out work at Red House in North Yorkshire, and provided designs for Raby Castle in County Durham.²⁰⁷ Jones' influence could be sought from afar, even if he did not visit the buildings he provided designs for, and it is puzzling why Ingram never took advantage of his social relationship with Jones to secure advice on his building programme. The absence of conclusive surviving documents linking Jones to Ingram's building works does not necessarily mean they refrained from discussing the matter at the Mitre, however.

Although Ingram did not employ Jones or Stone to work on his northern residences, it cannot be inferred that he was averse to commissioning skilled craftsmen from the metropolis to work for him in Yorkshire; indeed, it has been noted that even many southern patrons could not acquire the skills of the prime architect and master-mason of Stuart England. As well as employing Andreas Kearne, Ingram paid 5^s to 'a coachmaker came from London for mendinge ye coach wheeles,' and in a note dated 2 November 1622 Ingram stated that he would pay 3^s a week to the wife of John Goodman, bricklayer of Westminster, who was to work at his house in York. Receipts of payment

²⁰⁵ *The note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone*, p. 42.

²⁰⁶ *The note-book and account book of Nicholas Stone*, p. 34.

²⁰⁷ *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, p. 187n; Robert William Billings, *Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham* (Ilkley: Scholar Press, 1974), p. 58.

survive until January 1624, indicating that John Goodman was in the north working for Ingram for over a year.²⁰⁸

Ingram, it seems, also bought materials from prominent London craftsmen. In February 1637 Ingram bought '2 guilt candlesticks & ye shell gould' from a Mr Buckett, presumably Rowland Buckett, a notable member of the Painter-Stainers' Company of London, who had previously painted the windows in the blue chamber at Chelsea for Cranfield, and was involved in the trade of painting supplies.²⁰⁹ One of Ingram's craftsmen who regularly used these supplies was Thomas Ventris, junior, who carried out many forms of decorative work for him. He is also recorded as being paid by Ingram at Harborough near Leicester in July 1636, and again in January 1642 when Ingram was organising the work at Lady Kensington's house in London. A note that recorded 'Itt to Tho Ventris w^{ch} makes 50^s and to ye Carver came wth him 6^s,' suggests Ventris was possibly working on Holland House with a carver brought by his own recommendation.²¹⁰ Ingram's trust in Ventris' judgement of other craftsmen is further suggested by the fact that 6^s was paid to a plasterer that Ventris had sent from Northampton to York in 1636.²¹¹ This also implies Ventris was working throughout the Midlands in 1636, both at Northampton and Leicester, and evidence has been found that he also worked on Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge.²¹² David Scott suggests that both

²⁰⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30, 26 April 1639; WYL100/LO/ London Property – Rents, Stewards' Accounts, Repairs etc.: John Goodman, Bricklayer, Westminster.

²⁰⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156]; Tittler, "Buckett, Rowland (*bap.* 1571, *d.* 1639)," *ODNB*.

²¹⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/19a, 22 July 1636, 20 January 1642.

²¹¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/23.

²¹² David Scott, "The Construction and 'Inward Adorning' of Peterhouse Chapel, 1628-40," Paper given at Peterhouse, Cambridge, September 2010.

Thomas Ventris Senior and Junior worked at Peterhouse, with the elder Ventris carving the four Evangelists and his son helping to decorate the organ case.²¹³

The mobility of the Ventrises suggests they would have been exposed to various architectural styles which could have come to bear on the work they carried out for Ingram. However, mobility should not be assumed as the greatest factor in architectural change. A study of north-eastern building practices found that during the greatest period of architectural change within the area craftsmen mobility was at its lowest.²¹⁴ Moreover, London was less central in the training of provincial craftsmen than has previously been thought, with few apprentices from the north-east listed in the London guild registers.²¹⁵ It appears some Yorkshire men were still keen to find employment in London in the seventeenth century as can be seen in a letter to Cranfield, before he exchanged his Yorkshire estates with Ingram, in which one of his tenants entreated him to find work for his son who was ‘so desirous to be at London ... he will take any paines in the worlde so that he might but be theare’²¹⁶ Whether the work required was building work is not known but the fact the writer draws attention to his son’s ‘strengthe and ablenes’ suggests he would be suitable for a job in the construction trade.

Both Cranfield and Ingram employed a large number of local craftsmen, particularly labourers and semi-skilled craftsmen. Those building contracts which note the locality of craftsmen reveal that all the workers employed by Ingram were local.²¹⁷ It is evident Cranfield made use of the local workforce, as his work at Wiston in Sussex was

²¹³ Scott, “The Construction and ‘Inward Adorning’ of Peterhouse Chapel, 1628-40.”

²¹⁴ Green, “Houses and Households,” p. 300.

²¹⁵ Green, “Houses and Households,” pp. 292-301.

²¹⁶ CKS, U269/1 CB66 [ON1419].

²¹⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/71/2; WYL100/EA/13/71/4; WYL100/EA/13/71/5; WYL100/EA/12/10/1; WYL100/SH/F3/1.

hindered because of a shortage of workmen in the harvest season.²¹⁸ Artificers had little choice about helping out during harvest time as according to the Statute of Artificers refusal to do so would result in a fine of 40^s and two days and one night in the stocks.²¹⁹ The carpenter Sheppard employed to set up the wooden terrace at Pishiobury was also local as he informed Sheppard he was the man that had first set the terrace up twenty-three years ago.²²⁰ At Weston in Gloucestershire, Cranfield used a surveyor from Milcote and two craftsmen from Stratford-upon-Avon to build the vicarage. Milcote was very close to Stratford and the surveyor and the craftsmen may have worked together at Cranfield's house in Milcote. Weston was about ten miles from Milcote and therefore the workforce could be considered local.²²¹

Cranfield employed John Etherington and his brother to lay water pipes at Wiston House, Sussex. The Etheringtons were based in London, as the contract for the work stated that if Cranfield had any problems with the pipes he was to 'write to John att the nowe dwelling house of the said John Etherington scituate in Trinitie Lane in London'.²²² The Etheringtons were to receive 'meate drinke and lodging' at Wiston House whilst the work was carried out. Cranfield, then, was obviously prepared to pay for the accommodation and feeding of workmen so that he could have skilled men from the metropolis to work on his country estates. Cranfield also lodged a brick maker at his house in St Bartholomew's for three nights, suggesting he was not a local craftsman.²²³ This could suggest the skill in brick making was rare in London, and the fact that

²¹⁸ CKS, U269/1 E65, 6 September 1628.

²¹⁹ *An Acte towching dyvers Orders for Artificers Laborers Servantes of Husbandrye and Apprentises* (1563) in *The Statutes of the Realm* IV, part 1 (London: Dawsons, 1819, repr. 1963), clause XV, p. 418.

²²⁰ CKS, U269/1 E19, 8 January 1613.

²²¹ CKS, U269 E234/3.

²²² CKS, U269 E272/2.

²²³ CKS, U269 A451 Bundle C, n.d.

Cranfield bought ready made bricks for his houses in and around the capital, instead of commissioning craftsmen to make bricks which he did at his country residences, further supports this. Ingram paid for the lodging of his Dutch gardener Peter Monjoye in London, who generally worked at York, implying he was prepared to pay the costs of his accommodation to acquire his work at Dean's Yard.²²⁴

Both Ingram and Cranfield's building works were clearly influenced by foreign architectural styles and concepts whether it was through the few foreign craftsmen they employed or the English craftsmen that had experienced continental designs first-hand. The native craftsmen they commissioned were not restricted by geographical area, with Ingram acquiring London craftsmen to work on his northern homes but also employing some of his northern craftsmen on building projects in the south. Local artificers made up the majority of Ingram and Cranfield's workforce, but they were both fortunate in that their houses were situated close to urban centres which produced esteemed craftsmen, Ingram being near York and Cranfield in close proximity to London. The acquisition of craftsmen was clearly not coloured by any north-south divide but whether wage rates were is now considered.

iii) Wage rates and working conditions

The 'golden age of the English labourer' during the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth century when wages were high and food was cheap was a distant memory in the early seventeenth century.²²⁵ Many workmen struggled financially due to rising food prices and lagging wage rates. The Statute of Artificers in

²²⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 6 July 1635.

²²⁵ James E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages: The History of English Labour*, 10th ed. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & co. Ltd, 1909), p. 320.

1563 tried to rectify the situation recognising that wages were ‘not answerable to this tyme, respecting thadvancement of Pryses’.²²⁶ One of the measures taken by the statute was to assign the regulation of wages to local Justices of the Peace.²²⁷ However, this did not solve the economic difficulties faced by artificers as, Tawney notes, it was not in the best interests of the JPs to raise wage rates when they themselves were also subject to the price rises with no increase in income, due to fixed rents for their tenants.²²⁸

One major influence the JPs had on wage rates was to enhance regional diversity in pay, although, as both Airs and Woodward comment, these maximum rates were often not strictly adhered to.²²⁹ Despite this, the disparity between wage rates agreed for enforcement highlights perceptions of how highly the craftsmen’s work was valued in certain areas. For example, if the wage rates of free masons are examined for the summer months without meat and drink, in Essex in 1612 they were to receive 18^d a day, in Sussex in 1610 16^d, and yet in York in 1610 they were only to receive 12^d.²³⁰ The low values placed on northern rates could suggest that the quality of work by northern provincial craftsmen was expected to be poorer than that of southern workmen. Balthazar Gerbier clearly thought country craftsmen to be much more lazy and thoughtless than their London counterparts.²³¹ Gerbier’s prejudice, it must be noted, was aimed at provincial as opposed to metropolitan craftsmen, however, and not specifically at northern as opposed to southern craftsmen.

²²⁶ *An Acte towching dyvers Orders for Artificers*, preamble, p. 414.

²²⁷ *An Acte towching dyvers Orders for Artificers*, clause XI, p. 417.

²²⁸ R. H. Tawney, “The Assessment of Wages in England by the Justices of the Peace,” (1913) in *Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. W. E. Minchinton (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), p. 82.

²²⁹ Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 196; Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 190.

²³⁰ ERO, Q/AA 1; WSRO, QR/W3; YCA, B33/200-1.

²³¹ Balthazar Gerbier, *The first and second part of counsel and advice to all builders: for the choice of their surveyors, clerks of their works, bricklayers, masons, carpenters, and other workmen therein concerned. As also in respect of their works, materials, and rates thereof*, (1664), p. 46.

Four wage assessments for York survive, for the years 1605, 1607, 1609, and 1610, (see Table 1). The first two assessments reveal wage rates stayed the same, whereas the assessment for 1609 recorded a rise in rates for all crafts, mainly for the summer period. Also, by 1609 the rough masons, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, and carvers had caught up to the free masons and master carpenters above them, receiving the same wage rate. The wage rates for labourers remain the same for both seasons throughout all the assessments. One later indication of wage rates has survived in the Quarter Session Minutes for March 1651, which reveals an increased rate of 16^d to be paid to all carpenters, joiners, masons, and bricklayers between Lady Day and Michaelmas, and 14^d to be paid between Michaelmas and Lady Day. Labourers were to be paid 10^d, with no differential between seasons noted.²³² The earliest records of pay for craftsmen for the work on Ingram's properties are dated 1617 and concern his house at Sheriff Hutton. The brick hewers were being paid between 16 and 17^d per day which is between 4 and 5 pence more per day than the regulations set out in the JP's assessment of 1610 and on a par with the 1651 assessment. Between 1610 and 1617 was a period of wage stability, according to Brown and Hopkins, so the difference between the assessment rates and the wages of Ingram's brick hewers is probably not due to inflation.²³³ It is also important to note that Brown and Hopkins research was drawn from Rogers' figures and focuses solely on southern England; but the averages they record, with the average pay of craftsmen being 12^d per day and the average rate for labourers 8^d per day, are lower than the rates Ingram was paying his men at this time in the north. This suggests northern wages were more in line with southern rates than has previously been believed,

²³² YCA, Minute Book of the York Court of Quarter Sessions, 1638-1662, F7/297.

²³³ E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, "Seven Centuries of Building Wages," *Economica*, n.s., 22:87 (Aug. 1955): 195-206, (p. 198).

but more importantly it clearly shows that there was great variation between regions and that the concept of the north-south divide is too simplistic.

Table 1: Wage assessments for York, decided by the Mayor, Aldermen, and JPs, in pence per day.

Date	Craft	Summer (Without meat and drink)	Summer (With meat and drink)	Winter (Without meat and drink)	Winter (With meat and drink)
1605	Free masons, master carpenters	10	5	8	4
	Rough masons, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, carvers	10	4	7	3
	Plasterers, tilers, plumbers, glaziers	8	4	7	3
	Labourers	6	3	5	2
1607	Free masons, master carpenters	10	5	8	4
	Rough masons, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, carvers	10	4	7	3
	Plasterers, tilers, plumbers, glaziers	8	4	7	3
	Labourers	6	3	5	2
1609	Free masons, master carpenters	12	6	8	4
	Rough masons, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, carvers	12	6	8	4
	Plasterers, tilers, plumbers, glaziers	10	5	7	3
	Labourers	6	3	5	2
1610	Free masons, master carpenters	12	6	8	4
	Rough masons, carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, carvers	12	6	8	4
	Plasterers, tilers, plumbers, glaziers	10	5	8	4
	Labourers	6	3	5	2
Sources: YCA, York Corporation House Book 1605, B33/362; York Corporation House Book 1607, B33/66-7; York Corporation House Book 1609, B33/163-4; York Corporation House Book 1610, B33/200-1.					

Kelsall notes that the bulk of examples of paying excessive wages are from North Yorkshire suggesting that the county was probably a relatively high wage area but was

disregarded as such due to the set wage rates.²³⁴ At the North Riding Quarter Sessions held at Topcliffe in early October 1610 it was decided that

Forasmuch as there is much complaint made as well by masters as servants of sundry abuses committed against the Statute of laborers and apprentices, and of the neglect in keeping of the Sessions appointed by y^t law, the Justices of Peace within their several divisions shall kepe a special sessions before Martinmas next, and the like between Easter and Midsomer next, and so yerely, then to enquire of all defaltes committed²³⁵

There are abundant cases of both masters and servants not adhering to the statute. One particularly detailed account is that of Thomas Ledell of Ampleforth, a rough-waller, who not only refused to work for the wages set out in the statute but was also to be prosecuted ‘for beginning divers woorkes and leaving them unfinished, going forth of the N. R. into other cuntries to worke in sommer so as his neighbours cannot have his worke in hay-time and harvest’ and various other offences.²³⁶ Unfortunately the quarter sessions do not include any references to any of Ingram’s workmen. This does not necessarily mean that the craftsmen he employed, or indeed he himself, did not break the law by ignoring the terms of the Statute of Artificers, for it has already been noted that Ingram paid his brick-hewers at Sheriff Hutton excessive wages. It is more likely that Ingram, as an influential figure in the community, could evade prosecution. However, Ingram’s constant endeavours to save money and the fact he bargained with workmen to get cheaper deals suggests he was probably quite happy to abide by the rates set out in the JPs assessments most of the time.²³⁷ Similarly, Cranfield’s eminent

²³⁴ R. Keith Kelsall, “Wage Regulations Under The Statute of Artificers,” (1938) in *Wage Regulation in Pre-Industrial England*, ed. by W. E. Minchinton (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), p. 111.

²³⁵ *Quarter Sessions Records I*, ed. Rev. J. C. Atkinson, *North Riding Record Society*, o.s., (1884), p. 204.

²³⁶ *Quarter Sessions Records II*, ed. Rev. J. C. Atkinson, *North Riding Record Society*, o.s., (1884), p. 53.

²³⁷ On the 4 April 1624 Ingram wrote to Matteson asking him to ‘confer with Burridge the fretter at York and drive him to as low a price as you can to fret the long Gallery,’ WYASL, WYL178/4.

social position, particularly during his time at court, spared him from prosecution for paying his craftsmen higher rates of pay than specified by the statute. So many cases of payment of excessive wages probably never even made it to court due to negotiation between influential patrons and members of local government.

According to Airs northern craftsmen were often paid less than southern craftsmen. In 1576 carpenters in Sheffield received 8^d a day, whilst in Staffordshire they received 9^d, and in Wiltshire and Essex they received 10^d.²³⁸ These are not county figures but simply examples from certain country house projects in those areas so they are clearly not representative of the whole county. Woodward, on the other hand, found that the workmen in southern areas (excluding the metropolis) did not fare better than their northern counterparts.²³⁹ Rappaport confirms that London needs to be studied in isolation rather than as part of the ‘general’ south as he found a 54% difference between wage rates in southern England and the capital in the sixteenth century.²⁴⁰ Woodward also found a significant divide between the rates paid in certain northern towns and concluded that ‘Hull, Beverley, Newcastle, and York [emerged] as relatively high-wage economies – as far as building craftsmen were concerned – and Lincoln, Durham, Chester, Kendal, and Carlisle [were] relatively low-wage economies.’²⁴¹ Both Rappaport’s and Woodward’s research reveals that difference in wage rates was not marked by a north-south divide but was predominantly affected by region.

Comparison of wage rates paid by Ingram and Cranfield is difficult as most of Cranfield’s building records which include daily rates of pay refer to work done at his

²³⁸ Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 195.

²³⁹ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 178.

²⁴⁰ Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 85.

²⁴¹ Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 173-4.

house at Chelsea which is bound to reveal higher rates of pay than Ingram as all wage rates in and around the capital were higher.²⁴² Nevertheless, wages paid by Ingram and Cranfield between 1600 and 1635 have been evaluated, using the patchy information available. The date range has been chosen as it contains the most figures whilst also being a relatively stable period when wages stayed at the same value. According to Brown and Hopkins wages remained at the same level for both craftsmen and labourers between 1600 and 1625. Labourers' wages began to rise after 1625 whereas craftsmen's pay did not increase until 1630. During these upward movements the wages rose by 2^d at the most and this will be taken into account when considering comparison of wages from both before and after 1625.²⁴³

The most complete series of wages are from Chelsea House and appear in the bills the master craftsmen presented to Cranfield for payment. They included wage rates for themselves followed by a hierarchical framework of pay. Both James Milton, the master bricklayer, and John Middleton, the master carpenter, received 24^d per day for their work between 1622 and 1623. Their men received between 14^d and 24^d per day, presumably accountable to their level of skill. Labourers who worked with the bricklayers all received 12^d per day.²⁴⁴ The plasterer, James Leigh, also employed labourers whom he paid 12^d per day, whilst he himself and the other plasterers who worked with him all received the same rate of 24^d per day.²⁴⁵ The wages Ingram paid his carpenters, bricklayers, and plasterers, do not match up to the rates Cranfield paid. Although this is expected due to Cranfield paying London rates, some of the figures

²⁴² Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 180.

²⁴³ Brown and Hopkins, *Seven Centuries of Building Wages*, p. 198.

²⁴⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8021;8023;8028;8029;8032;8033;8042;8053;8062;8065].

²⁴⁵ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8020;8031;8034], James Leigh received the same rate of pay for his workmanship when carrying out task work for the Office of Works, TNA, E351/3255.

Ingram paid are at the same level as the lowest daily rates paid by Cranfield. Ingram paid his carpenter 14^d per day which matches the rate received by one of John Middleton's men, presumably the least skilled carpenter working at Chelsea, however Ingram was paying him in 1632, after wage rates had gone up by 2^d.²⁴⁶ Similarly, the brick hewers at Sheriff Hutton, being paid 16^d-17^d per day, were on a par with the 16^d per day paid to the bricklayer Daniel Benson at Chelsea in 1622.²⁴⁷ However, Benson received a raise during the course of his work there and by September 1623 was earning 18^d per day.²⁴⁸ It was not only the bricklayer who received an increase in pay, Nicholas Dodd, part of Middleton's team of carpenters also received a raise, going from 20^d in May 1622 to 22^d by August 1623.²⁴⁹ Middleton's bill from May 1622 includes payment to John Barker, a carver, who received 30^d per day.²⁵⁰ Ingram's carver, Thomas Ventriss senior, was paid regularly by John Matteson at 6^s per week but unfortunately it is not known how much of the week he worked for Ingram so a daily rate cannot be assumed.²⁵¹ Although most craftsmen worked six days a week there was probably less work for a carver to carry out than a carpenter or bricklayer. Also, it is recorded that the stone statues that Ventriss made for Ingram needed transporting from 'Ventres shop home', suggesting that as he had his own workshop he was probably working for other people at the same time as Ingram, further limiting the probability that he was working six days a week for Ingram.²⁵²

²⁴⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/16, 1632.

²⁴⁷ WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/2; CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8041].

²⁴⁸ CKS, U269/1 AP45, on 16^d per day - [ON8041], on 18^d per day - [ON8021;8029;8033;8053].

²⁴⁹ CKS, U269/1 AP45, on 20^d per day - [ON8042;8065], on 22^d per day - [ON8023;8028;8032].

²⁵⁰ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8042].

²⁵¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/21/2.

²⁵² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18, 8 May 1635, Ventriss' workshop was located in Coney Street, York, see Map 4.

Ingram's payment of labourers was less regulated than the rigid 12^d per day paid by Cranfield at Chelsea. Payment ranged from 8^d per day in 1629 to double that at 16^d per day in 1632.²⁵³ It is probable that Ingram paid labourers varying wages depending on the tasks they were carrying out; indeed, the labourers paid 8^d received it for removing rubbish, whereas the labourers who earned twice as much were paid for levelling the banqueting house, a task requiring far more skill. The labourers at Chelsea who received a fixed rate of pay were part of the carpenter or bricklayer's team and were part of the same guild companies which may have had strict restrictions on pay.

Cranfield also seemed to pay quite high wage rates to the craftsmen employed at his houses in Hertfordshire and Essex. As early as 1618 he paid Robert Matthew, the joiner working at Pishiobury, 18^d per day, whereas Ingram only paid his joiner, William Allen, 14^d per day for work carried out by him at York as late as 1632.²⁵⁴ Similarly, Cranfield paid his plumber, Hugh Justice, 30^d per day for working at Copt Hall in 1627, whereas Ingram only paid 12^d per day to his plumber, John Hewthwaite, for work at York in 1632.²⁵⁵ However, plumbers at both Eton and Cambridge were only paid 12^d per day in 1632, the same as their northern counterparts.²⁵⁶

Not only did wage rates vary regionally, but they could be affected by a variety of other factors, including the level of skill involved in the job or the unpleasantness of the job, whilst also depending on the sex of the worker, and the way they were paid, whether daily, by piece-rate, or by 'great', meaning for the full task. During the early seventeenth century skilled craftsmen increasingly began to be paid by piece-rates

²⁵³ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I; WYL100/EA/13/16.

²⁵⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP26 [ON4919]; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/16.

²⁵⁵ CKS, U269 A505/1; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18.

²⁵⁶ Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices* VI, p. 636.

rather than daily rates, and this change makes calculating wage rates more problematic.²⁵⁷ In a letter to John Fell, the Bishop of Oxford, concerning the building of Tom Tower, Christ Church, Sir Christopher Wren informed him that ‘the best way in this businesse is to worke by measure’, although he cautioned that one must have ‘an understanding trusty measurer.’²⁵⁸ Wren was writing in 1681 but it is clear many workmen who preceded him agreed with his philosophy. Richard Maybanke secured a contract with Ingram in 1621 to make a brick wall at Sheriff Hutton for 5^s per rood, whilst twelve years later the bricklayer John Wilton was also paid by rood for constructing a building on the south side of the kitchen.²⁵⁹ Many of the craftsmen employed by Cranfield were also paid by piece-rates. John Walton, working at Wood Street in 1604, charged Cranfield 9^d per foot for laying new border stone in the little parlour and 2½^d per foot for laying old stone about the pump and gutters.²⁶⁰ The price must have included the value of the stone which is why the cost of laying new stone was more expensive and it can be assumed the wage rate for laying the stone was 2½^d per foot (as old stone was presumably free), and that the new border stone cost 6½^d per foot. Indeed, Ingram paid a workman for ‘squareing and laying 120 flagges at new banquet ho at 2½^d a flagg’.²⁶¹ Brick makers were always paid by measure for their skill.

A significant number of workmen were also paid ‘by great’ by both Ingram and Cranfield. Ingram contracted the York carpenter John Williamson to erect a three-storey addition to York Palace, giving him just over six weeks to complete the work, at a cost

²⁵⁷ Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 198.

²⁵⁸ *The Fifth Volume of the Wren Society*, eds. Arthur T. Bolton and H. Duncan Hendry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 20.

²⁵⁹ WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/3, 11 June 1621; WYL100/EA/13/71/4, 7 August 1633.

²⁶⁰ CKS, U269/1 E2, 24 December 1604.

²⁶¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18, 25 July 1632.

of £18.²⁶² Woodward found few examples of work carried out for a set price, but notes that when it was the first thing to do was to get an estimate.²⁶³ Cranfield followed this procedure when having his loggia at Copt Hall remodelled. John Carter's estimate for the work to be undertaken also included piece-rates to be paid, with the brickwork costing £7 16^s 3^d per pole, stonework ranging from 2½^d per foot to 21^d per foot depending on whether the stone was old or new.²⁶⁴ Edmund Kinsman's competing estimate for the work included spaces for the price per measurement for materials and workmanship but unfortunately the values have not been written in.²⁶⁵ This suggests that there was an approved format for estimates which included not only the total price for the job but also split down the work into different specialities, such as brick work, carpenter work and so forth, and included piece-rates for each individual task.

It is clear different methods of payment could be combined for one specific task and Woodward notes that these could also be combined in the payment of specific craftsmen. For example, a plumber was often paid by weight when casting lead and then paid daily for the task of laying it.²⁶⁶ This can be seen in Hugh Justice's bills for work carried out for Cranfield at Copt Hall between 1627 and 1628. Lead was paid for by measure at 14^s the hundred, and the workers were paid a daily wage of 2^s.²⁶⁷ Ingram, however, paid his plumber John Hewthwaite by measure for casting and laying the lead for his new banqueting house at York in 1632.²⁶⁸ The plumber at York in 1629, probably the same John Hewthwaite, was paid for solder to mend the kitchen gutter, but

²⁶² WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, covenant dated 27 September 1623.

²⁶³ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 35.

²⁶⁴ CKS, U269 E199, 20 April 1626.

²⁶⁵ CKS, U269 E199, n.d.

²⁶⁶ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 35.

²⁶⁷ CKS, U269 A505/1, 16 February 1628 – 30 June 1628.

²⁶⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18, 19 July 1632.

as ‘for his labour in setting y^t he demaunded nothing as yett’, further suggesting he did not have a set daily rate.²⁶⁹

Labourers were paid, in general, by day rates and it was these men who were likely to get the worst jobs. Wage rates could sometimes be increased for particularly arduous jobs.²⁷⁰ Sheppard believed the men at work on the ditch at Pishiobury deserved 12^d per day rather than 6^d as it was ‘shutche dirtie worke.’²⁷¹ Women’s wage rates were always inferior to men’s. From one perspective this was probably due to the fact women carried out un-skilled work such as weeding, carrying and clearing rubbish after the workers.²⁷² Woodward notes that the differential between male and female pay ‘had biblical authority: it was laid down in Leviticus that a woman should receive three fifths of the male rate.’²⁷³

Wages were rarely paid on time and could often prove a bone of contention between the craftsmen and their employer. Matteson found work at Sheriff Hutton began to slow down in October 1622 but reasoned to Ingram that it would ‘go on a pace if want of money be not the hindrance, for without the fortnights pay little will be done.’²⁷⁴ Lack of ready funds to pay workmen could slow down the rate of progress on site considerably.²⁷⁵ It could also cause discontent within the workforce, as Ingram found not only on his own building projects but also in his dealings with the alum works, when members of one of Ingram’s alum houses ‘threatened to break it up and sell of the

²⁶⁹ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 23 May 1629.

²⁷⁰ Woodward, *Men at Work*, pp. 107-8.

²⁷¹ CKS, U269/1 E20/4, n.d.

²⁷² See Chapter 7, p. 425 for information on wage rates received by weeders.

²⁷³ Woodward, *Men at Work*, p. 112.

²⁷⁴ WYASL, WYL178/4, 13 October 1622.

²⁷⁵ Airs, *The Tudor and Jacobean Country House*, p. 103.

contents' as they had been unpaid for so long.²⁷⁶ Many receipts of payment to craftsmen are dated a considerable time after the craftsmen's bills for their employers. John Middleton made out a bill for Cranfield on 20 October 1623, but did not receive his money until the following February.²⁷⁷ Robert Burgh had to wait even longer for payment, his bill being made out on 1 March 1629 but not receiving full payment until 21 August 1631.²⁷⁸ It must be noted that even craftsmen employed by the king often had to wait substantial periods of time before receiving payment for their work. Workers often had to resort to petitions to try and procure their wages, such as in 1642 when workmen from the Royal Works petitioned for the right to their wages which were two years or more overdue, stating that they were likely to beg, starve, and perish.²⁷⁹ By the late seventeenth century building contracts began to include reference to late payment; the 1683 brick makers' contracts for Winchester Palace stated that work would stop if payments were over a month late, and the masons' contracts for the same job warned that the workforce would be reduced until wages were received.²⁸⁰

The issue of the north-south divide is brought out most vividly in the analysis of wage rates. Although the wage rates set by the JPs by county reveal that rates were often set lower in the north, it has been shown that these guidelines were not strictly adhered to. Woodward noted that different wage rates were present in different towns within the north, and the main reason for this appears to be the size of the towns considered. Hull, Newcastle and York as high wage rate towns were significantly more 'metropolitan', meaning they were places of considerable industrial and cultural activity that attracted a

²⁷⁶ Upton, p. 123.

²⁷⁷ CKS, U269/1 AP58.

²⁷⁸ CKS, U269 A451 Bundle A.

²⁷⁹ *Fifth Report of The Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts*, Part I Report and Appendix (London: HMSO, 1876), p. 63.

²⁸⁰ Knoop and Jones, *London Mason*, p. 53.

high number of people, than the low wage rate towns, such as Durham, Kendal, and Carlisle. So again, the issue appears to be one of a provincial-metropolitan divide rather than a north-south divide, with regionality playing a large part.

Conclusions

This analysis of the materials and craftsmen employed by Ingram and Cranfield on their building programmes has revealed that both building fabrics and artificers could be secured through wealth and connections and that geographical location could be overcome if one possessed these. The prestigious materials that Ingram and Cranfield acquired, such as stone and brick, and the craftsmen they commissioned, such as esteemed guild craftsmen, both reflect their high social standing.

Both men sought out highly skilled craftsmen from the London or York Guilds. Cranfield also secured eminent craftsmen from the Royal Works for his building projects, and although Ingram did not commission any of the king's craftsmen directly, he was involved with some of their work at Holland House. He also employed Andreas Kearne at one of his Yorkshire residences, who had previously worked for Charles I, and who, as a London craftsman, travelled a great distance to fulfil Ingram's request. A few other London craftsmen worked on Ingram's northern building projects but the majority of his workforce was local. His use of a master-craftsman rather than an architect to oversee his building works in Yorkshire was typical of the period, and it was Cranfield that was part of the minority by procuring the skills of an architect. Ingram's use of a surveyor at his London house at Bowe and the ambiguous references to a 'Mr Jones' and a 'Mr Carter' suggest that he was more likely to use progressive measures in the re-modelling of his London houses rather than his northern ones. The

acquisition of highly skilled craftsmen by Ingram and Cranfield clearly marked them out as serious builders who wished to enhance their image by employing craftsmen who had worked for other eminent patrons. Although Ingram did not commission quite the same calibre of workmen as Cranfield it must be remembered that he was only a knight, not an earl, and had never held such influential positions at court as Cranfield had. Despite this he was clearly regarded as an accomplished builder, highlighted by the fact he was given charge of the building renovations of Holland House by his patron Henry Rich.

The relationship between patron and craftsmen comes across strongly in Ingram and Cranfield's papers. Both Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone, whom Cranfield employed, directed the building work they carried out for Cranfield, leaving him essentially at their whim. Jones and Stone both commissioned their own craftsmen to work for them and both abandoned Cranfield at various times to carry out work for the king. Despite this, Cranfield was gaining the expertise of the most accomplished architect and master-mason of his time and was clearly prepared to pander to their wishes if it resulted in works of architectural merit, such as the gate at Chelsea and his tomb, which confirmed his social rank in society and marked him out as a gentleman of culture and learning. Ingram's master-craftsmen played more of a mediating role and were essentially subservient to Ingram's direction. Although they proffered practical advice, they had little authority over the design.

The craftsmen employed on building programmes could sometimes be beneficial in obtaining specific building materials. This is clear in Cranfield's procurement of Portland stone which he acquired through the London Mason's Company. Generally,

however, the choice of building fabric depended on whether it was produced locally which in turn affected costs due to the amount of carriage that was required. Brick was used profusely by both Ingram and Cranfield, presumably because it could be made on land near the property which would reduce transportation costs. It was also an adaptable material which could incorporate new architectural styles and was becoming as prestigious as stone in terms of its use to display wealth and status. Stone was also used by both men. Although Ingram did not use Portland stone in his building pursuits, he did use the next best thing – magnesium limestone from Huddleston. Ingram may have found it harder to acquire Portland stone than Cranfield as he did not have the same access to the London Mason's Company as Cranfield did. Cranfield's use of stone can also be related to a desire to improve the look of his properties, clearly highlighted in his decision to return six hundred paving tiles to a supplier because he would rather have his kitchen at Pishiobury paved with free stone, which was a far from practical material for the purpose. The stone would also require transporting to his Hertfordshire residence, just as the paving tiles would need to be carried away, an expensive process. Although Cranfield may have had easier access to the best quality building stone than Ingram, Sir Arthur had more timber at his fingertips than Cranfield. Ingram's lease of Sheriff Hutton Park in the Royal Forest of Galtres provided him with a constant supply of wood which he could use for free without having to carry it very far. This, rather than a choice to use a material that was losing its appeal to members of the elite, may explain why Ingram employed the material to a greater extent than Cranfield did. Materials could also be chosen to match existing fabrics of the original building or because of a surplus of materials from an older demolished structure, as at Temple Newsam and Bootham Almshouses.

The cost of materials was affected by supply and demand and, with bricks in particular, by mode of production. There was no clear divide between northern and southern prices, with lime and brick varying between regions in both halves of the country, and glass appearing to have a standard price throughout England. Carriage costs were not influenced by a north-south divide either but were consistently high throughout the country. Access to water routes was the primary factor which could limit transportation costs, and Ingram's proximity to the port of Hull and the River Ouse aided his acquisition of materials from outside the locality, despite him living in the far north. The north-south divide, then, had no bearing whatsoever on the use of building materials by members of the elite in the first half of the seventeenth century, rather, it was a question of regionality across Britain.

It also had little affect on the acquisition of craftsmen, as the section on craftsmen mobility above has shown. Ingram commissioned London craftsmen to work on his northern properties, confirming that northern builders could acquire the skills of City trained artificers. Further, the wage rates Ingram and Cranfield paid their craftsmen support Woodward's findings that region was more influential than a north-south divide. The greatest disparity was between provincial and metropolitan areas, a pattern that corresponds with the way contemporaries viewed the ability and skill of craftsmen, as stated by Gerbier above.²⁸¹

²⁸¹ See p. 278.

The household: furnish and function

Chapter 2 has already demonstrated how Ingram and Cranfield used clothes to project a highly cultivated image. This chapter will consider the consumption of material goods for the home to examine the role they played in portraying the owner's wealth and status. All the purchases Ingram and Cranfield made projected a sense of their identity as 'purchasing and enjoying artefacts of material culture involves a constant expression of self.'¹ The furnishing of the house and the acquisition of household goods will be analysed first before moving on to an examination of how the household was ordered and the hospitality that was provided by Ingram and Cranfield. Running an efficient and bounteous household further consolidated a gentleman's image by legitimising his social stature through the control and size of his retinue and the hierarchical nature of hospitality given to the poor. The entertainment of one's peers and superiors was an opportunity to impress not only with the furnishing of one's house but also the sustenance provided. The location of Ingram and Cranfield's country estates will be taken into account when examining the issue of hospitality to see whether geographical position affected giving, and also when analysing the consumption of material goods to question whether luxury items could be purchased as easily in the north as in the south.

The increasing pace of social mobility from the late Elizabethan period onwards was one of the main catalysts for the growth in consumption of luxury goods. Other factors, such as the good trade relations which were brought about by the peace treaties finalised

¹ Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1994): 162-173, (p. 172).

in James' reign, also increased demand for luxuries at this time, with the number of imported silk fabrics, to take an example, more than doubling between 1560 and 1622.² Religious beliefs both favoured and condemned the new fashions, with Puritans denouncing excessive consumption as inducing vanity and indulgence, whilst a growing number of anti-Calvinist preachers and lay men defended the 'beautifying' of one's home. A detailed examination of Ingram and Cranfield's furnishing of their homes reveals that doctrinal beliefs did not always necessitate a clear cut view of consumption, however.

Before Ingram and Cranfield's consumption of luxury goods can be analysed it is necessary to define 'luxury'. According to Braudel this is an impossible task due to the fact that 'luxury is an elusive, complex and contradictory concept, by definition constantly changing....'³ Berry, however, in his attempt to define luxury uses the concept of 'need' and 'desire', explaining that whilst needs are 'objective or universal', desires are subjective. For example, as humans we all need food but as individuals we do not all desire the same type of food.⁴ When Ingram consumed foods such as oysters or strawberries with clotted cream it was because he desired them rather than needed them. He could have gained the same sustenance from bread and pottage but he was fulfilling his desire, rather than his need, for food.⁵ As Brewer and Porter note, food is a complex item of consumption as 'it is simultaneously necessity and luxury,' although if Berry's approach is taken a distinction can be made between the necessity of food and

² Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 14. Although the peace treaty of 1604 boosted trade between England and Spain, Croft has noted that trade still carried on between England and Spain during the Armada war, although obviously not to the great extent it did thereafter, Pauline Croft, "Trading with the Enemy 1585-1604," *The Historic Journal* 32:2 (June 1989): 281-302.

³ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism 15th – 18th Century*, vol. 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Collins, 1981), p. 183.

⁴ Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. xi, 9.

⁵ WYL100/EA/13/19a, 24 June 1635, 13-14 May 1636.

the pleasure of consuming food.⁶ Food is not only a complex item of consumption but also interesting in that it links to hospitality, with ‘fashionable’ delicacies being used to impress guests. Hospitality was also closely interlinked with consumption in other ways, as charitable giving within the provinces was dramatically affected by the draw of London as the centre of conspicuous consumption.⁷ The metropolis not only offered specialist shops dealing in luxury goods but also the opportunity to display and enrich one’s public image. It is clear, then, that just as architectural design and building processes were coloured by metropolitan and provincial influences, this urban-rural dichotomy also dictated practices in spending and hospitable behaviour.

6.1 Furnishing the house

Both gentlemen spent considerable amounts of money on purchasing furniture for their houses, and just as Michael Jopling remarked of Michael Heseltine, ‘The trouble ... is that he had to buy all his furniture’, one can imagine that Ingram and Cranfield’s contemporaries viewed their lack of noble lineage in an equally scathing way.⁸ It is fortunate for this study, however, that both men bought their furnishings as it allows an analysis of current fashions within their life times whereas inherited goods reveal little about current demand.⁹ Although Ingram and Cranfield, as new-made gentleman, had no heirlooms to inherit, many of the material goods they purchased were passed down through their own families, with items still remaining at Temple Newsam and Knole

⁶ John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 5.

⁷ F. J. Fisher, “The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., 30, (1948): 37-50.

⁸ Quoted by Alan Clark in his *Diaries*, (London: Phoenix, 1993), p. 161, Wednesday 17 June 1987.

⁹ This point is made by Jan de Vries, “Between purchasing power and the world of goods: understanding the household economy in early modern Europe,” in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, eds. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1994): 85-132, (pp. 102-3).

today. Ingram and Cranfield's inventories and accounts record the purchase of a vast quantity of sumptuous furnishings, and therefore only a brief examination will be made of the majority of the items whilst a more detailed study of the paintings and hangings will be carried out. The art work the men bought and displayed within their homes has been chosen as a focal point as the pictures and hangings acquired can reveal not only the wealth and taste of the men but also give further insight into their values and beliefs. Wotton noted in his *Elements of Architecture* that 'there may bee a Lascivious and there may be likewise a superstitious use, both of Picture and of Sculpture,' signifying that the acquisition of art work during the period could reveal certain aspects of the patron's identity.¹⁰ In specific reference to biblical images, the consumption of which was growing throughout the early seventeenth century in an ironic desire for art which could beautify the home at the expense of Protestant teachings against vanity and luxury, more can be discerned about Ingram and Cranfield's religious outlooks, a previously understudied area of their lives.

i) The decor scheme

Before we consider individual items bought for the home, however, we need to contemplate the overall effect of interior decoration. It was during the seventeenth century that more attention began to be paid to unity within the home, mainly in terms of colour schemes and matching furniture. Initiated by the French aristocracy, and in particular by the influential figure Madame Rambouillet, rooms began to be co-ordinated and often named with reference to the colour schemes used. In the early 1620s Madame de Rambouillet entertained her literary friends in her famous *Chambre Bleue*, in which not only the bed and furniture matched but the walls were also painted the

¹⁰ Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, p. 121.

same hue.¹¹ Both Ingram and Cranfield had named chambers reflecting the colour scheme of some of their rooms. Ingram's inventory for his Lincolnshire house at Laughton lists a 'red chamber next ye greene drawing roome' which included red cloth chairs, stools and bed furnishings. It is not clear, however, if the walls were of the same shade.¹² At Chelsea Cranfield had a green chamber next to the garden, a black chamber, and a blue chamber.¹³ When he moved from Chelsea to Copt Hall he took various things out of the black chamber which were all suited to each other. However they were all red, not black, suggesting complete unity was still not achieved, even in his grandest residence.¹⁴ The blue chamber presumably included the blue velvet bed embellished with silver and gold lace.¹⁵ Although Northampton had earlier displayed purple velvet bedroom furniture matching his grand bed, 'in the French style' according to Peck, it is unclear whether his walls were also purple to provide a fully cohesive space.¹⁶ The only chamber named by colour at Copt Hall was the blue chamber, possibly due to the fact Cranfield took blue furnishings with him from Chelsea and recreated the room at his new residence.¹⁷ Lady Carey's chamber, although termed as such, was clearly designed

¹¹ Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 8.

¹² WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/1, 10 December 1628.

¹³ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156]; U269/1 T40.

¹⁴ CKS, U269 E198/2, 30 March 1625. Removed from the Black Chamber to be carried to Copt Hall were: 'The Kings Traverse Chrimson Tuffeta, A dosen of Chrimson velvet Chaiers, A Chrimson velvet Carpet, A long Cushion of Chrimson velvet, and A Turkey foote Carpet.' A 'traverse' is defined in the *OED* as 'a curtain or screen placed crosswise, or drawn across a room, hall, or theatre', and in this case probably refers to a curtain.

¹⁵ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 19 March 1623, 11 April 1623.

¹⁶ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 217.

¹⁷ CKS, U269/1 E16. In the CKS catalogue the inventory is stated as referring to Chelsea House and is roughly dated to 1625. However an exact replica of this inventory is also catalogued in the section of Cranfield's papers referring to Milcote House. It is clear, through deeper investigation, that neither of these residences match the inventory in question. It is unlikely to be for Milcote House as other inventories clearly labelled as Milcote (CKS, U269 E228/1 An Inventory of Household Stuff Left at Milcote by Sir Edward Greville 1 November 1625) list chambers such as the 'Essex Chamber' and other rooms which do not correlate with the rooms listed on document E16. Similarly, it is not likely to be a list of goods at Chelsea House, as the rooms do not match an inventory clearly labelled as for Chelsea House contained in the 1622 Household Book of Anne, Countess of Middlesex, held at Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 1228.

in an orange colour scheme as it included a bed, chairs, stools, and counterpane of orange and silver velvet or damask.¹⁸ It is clear by a list of goods sent from Copt Hall to Wallingford House in 1627, that by then Lady Carey's chamber was referred to as the 'orange chamber', as the items noted to be sent from the 'little Closett next the oringe Chamber', included nearly all the items listed in the earlier inventory as belonging to the round closet chamber which is listed next to Lady Carey's room, and has presumably also undergone a name change.¹⁹

As well as uniformity in furnishings the French style advocated symmetry, just as Italian classical architecture did. One example of this was the use of two curtains, instead of one, to draw across the window to meet in the middle.²⁰ It seems Ingram was using double curtains by 1628 as goods sent to Laughton included two curtains with only one curtain rod on more than one occasion. For example, out of Sir Arthur's chamber there were '2 yellow taffata curtene for ye window, 1 iron rod for ye said window,' and out of the nursery '2 red windowe curtene wth 1 curten rod.'²¹ Cranfield also had symmetrical curtains at Copt Hall, but not for all his windows. In the withdrawing chamber to the chamber of state there were '7 curtaines of Crimson & White damaske Whereof one double', indicating that this style was new and was not yet

It can be pretty firmly established as an inventory for Copt Hall, as various ancillary documents support this; for example, the rooms stated in the inventory match the room names recorded in a glazier's bill for Copt Hall dated 1631 (CKS, U269 A505/1), and the presence of a 'Queen's Chamber' fits with the fact that Queen Elizabeth stayed at the house in July 1568 whilst on progress, as the then owner, Thomas Heneage was a favourite of hers who had been granted the house by Elizabeth herself four years earlier, see John Newman "Copthall, Essex," pp. 18-9.

¹⁸ CKS, U269/1 E16.

¹⁹ CKS, U269 E228/3. CKS catalogue lists the items as being sent from Milcote, their assumption based on the fact that the other documents in this hand and layout were believed by them to be for Cranfield's Warwickshire home, when in fact they are more likely to be for Copt Hall, see footnote 17 above.

²⁰ Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, p. 137.

²¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/1.

being applied on a universal basis.²² Although the French concept of unification was spreading to England in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century, it was not until the Parisian architect Daniel Marot transformed English interiors in the late seventeenth century that the true essence of regularity within furnishings was adopted on a full scale.²³

Although it was French architects who wished to control every aspect of the interior design of the house, it was in reality the upholsterers who occupied that domain.²⁴ Nearly every piece of furniture was upholstered in some fashion, therefore the upholsterers had the opportunity to create unified schemes of decoration. Even tables and cupboard were often covered with cloths (usually called carpets) of various materials, most popularly of Turkey work. Ingram had '4 turky worke carpetts for cubbords or side tables' at New Lodge in 1631.²⁵ Cranfield went one step further, having his desk embroidered by Richard Deakes at a cost of £26.²⁶ The most expensive aspect of many pieces of furniture was the upholstery. Cranfield paid the same upholsterer £160 for a blue velvet bed adorned with silver and gold lace with appurtenances.²⁷ It was clearly not the bed frame which cost this great amount but the exquisite materials used to adorn it. Wooden bed frames were presumably significantly lower in price than their accompanying upholstery, as Cranfield paid Robert Burgh only £8 in August 1631 for making both a bed and a Spanish chair frame.²⁸ Cranfield's bed appurtenances included fashionable styles such as black embroidery on pillow cases

²² CKS, U269/1 E16.

²³ Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, p. 52.

²⁴ Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, p. 103.

²⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/4.

²⁶ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 31 May 1623. Ingram also commissioned Deakes on various occasions between 1615 and 1621, for items such as rugs, mats, and close stools, WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/6; WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

²⁷ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 19 March 1623.

²⁸ CKS, U269 A451 Bundle A.

which could be found at his Warwickshire home in Milcote.²⁹ He also owned hangings and furniture influenced and sought from the far east, such as a ‘Counterpointe and a Canopie of Imbrodered China silk’, which aligned him with such eminent figures as the Earl of Somerset who had also indulged in the fashion for chinoiserie before his downfall, despite it often being termed an eighteenth century phenomenon.³⁰

Along with the Spanish chair frame mentioned above, Cranfield had many other elaborate styles of seating such as chairs of state, back chairs and couch chairs.³¹ Ingram also owned a variety of seating according to the one inventory taken within his lifetime. The inventory of 1631 lists high chairs, low stools, many ‘greate chare[s]’, all of which were richly upholstered in materials such as taffeta, velvet, and grogram, and embroidered with lace of all colours and watchet twist.³² A seventeenth century couch chair of red velvet with gold fringe survives at Knole (Figure 69), and could possibly be one of Cranfield’s ‘couches of Crimson Velvet laced with Silke and gold fringe,’ two of which are listed in his inventory for Copt Hall.³³ Cranfield clearly had other couch chairs as he paid the silk man Ralph Marsh for fringe and lace to trim a couch, among other things, in the blue chamber, suggesting he had a blue as well as a crimson velvet couch chair.³⁴ Ingram also owned couch chairs of varying quality including both a ‘couth chare of tuffetaffith’ and a more sumptuous red couch chair which was adorned with red, white and yellow silk fringe by the embroiderer Arthur Cady with materials

²⁹ CKS, U269 E228/10, 1 October 1645; Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 223.

³⁰ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156] 26 May 1623; Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 217.

³¹ CKS, U269/1 E16.

³² WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/4. Grogram is described in the *OED* as ‘a coarse fabric of silk, of mohair and wool, or of these mixed with silk; often stiffened with gum.’ Watchet is a light blue colour, *OED*.

³³ CKS, U269/1 E16; R. W. Symonds, “The Upholstered Furniture at Knole,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 86: 506 (May, 1945): 110-115.

³⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 27 May 1623.

bought from the upholster Thomas Naylor.³⁵ Couches were in essence day beds, and therefore ‘evidence of conspicuous luxury ... for only the very grand could spend time during the day lolling about.’³⁶ Although Ingram and Cranfield probably spent little time ‘lolling about’ due to their public roles, the couch chairs they displayed within their homes would create an impression of luxury to their guests.

Figure 69: Red velvet couch chair at Knole

Image has been removed due to copyright restriction

ii) Hangings, paintings and collections

Upholsterers not only covered furniture, they also made hangings to decorate their clients’ walls. This was just as costly as the adornment of furniture, judging from Ingram’s and Cranfield’s accounts. In July 1616 Ingram paid Peter Jacobs the

³⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/4; WYL100/EA/12/6.

³⁶ Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, p. 172.

substantial sum of £225 ‘for a sute of hanginges wch were sent to the Lo: Treasurer.’³⁷ Ingram not only spent vast amounts of money on upholstery to ingratiate himself with high officials, he also spent significant sums on his own hangings, spending at least £200 on a suite of hangings from Mr Tully the upholsterer in early 1637.³⁸ These were possibly sent to one of his houses in Yorkshire, at this date most likely Temple Newsam, as other evidence suggests that hangings were bought by Ingram in the capital to furnish his northern homes.³⁹ For example, on 10 December 1622 Ingram wrote to John Matteson to ask him if hangings of 10ft would serve the gallery at Sheriff Hutton, and on a later occasion Matteson sent the room measurements for New Park to Ingram in London, presumably so Ingram could purchase the correct sized hangings.⁴⁰ Sir Thomas Coke paid the upholsterer William Angel £75 5^s for two suites of new hangings, one of the story of Abraham, the other of the story of Joseph, in June 1630.⁴¹ Both Ingram and Cranfield also commissioned Angel. Ingram paid him £83 in March 1634 whereas Cranfield paid him the substantially smaller sum of £6 11^s in April 1623 but he had only bought a Turkey carpet, not hangings.⁴²

Like Coke, many aristocrats owned hangings featuring biblical stories. Unfortunately Ingram’s accounts and inventories rarely recorded the subject matter of his hangings, usually distinguishing them by material rather than pattern. Cranfield’s hangings, on the other hand, were described in much greater detail. As well as biblical scenes his hangings featured ‘small imagerie Lanskip[s]’ and their borders included ‘a Salamnder

³⁷ WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

³⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 24 January 1637, £100 paid to Mr Tully in part for a suite of hangings, 25 February 1637, £100 1^s to ‘Mr Talley the Uphouldster.’

³⁹ Hangings were being fitted at Temple Newsam between 1635 and 1636, WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18; WYL100/C/3, 75. Hangings were brought from London to York in June 1638, WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25.

⁴⁰ WYASL, WYL178/4; WYL178/5, 31 December 1641, 7 January 1642.

⁴¹ BL, Add. MSS 69,877, fol. 10-11.

⁴² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156].

in fier'. They came from many different places including England, Holland, China and Brazil.⁴³ Examples of religious narratives on his hangings include the history of Noah, along with five pieces on the story of Daniel, both of which were presumably valuable as he took them from Chelsea to Copt Hall in 1625.⁴⁴ Accounts reveal that Cranfield bought two sets of hangings from The Royal Wardrobe in late 1619 and early 1620. He paid £260 8^s for eight pieces of hangings on the story of Noah and £257 12^s for six pieces of hangings on Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt; the Noah tapestries were recorded as hanging in the great chamber at Chelsea in 1622, and the hangings of Diana furnished the drawing chamber to the great chamber.⁴⁵ Cranfield clearly benefitted privately from his public office as Master of the Wardrobe, acquiring hangings suitable for the king which he could display in his own home to project a highly favourable image of himself as a wealthy and cultured individual. Cranfield's hangings of Noah may also, like his picture of the Antwerp and London custom houses mentioned in Chapter 2, show his strong affiliation to mercantile life. The story of Noah was typically presented at Corpus Christi festivals by the ship builders and merchants of the time.⁴⁶

Other than biblical patterns, hangings were often adorned with classical or mythological imagery, as already shown in Cranfield's hangings of Diana. He also owned hangings featuring the mythological figures of Hammon, Hippolytus, Perseus and Andromeda.⁴⁷ The Earl of Somerset had '5 peese of hangines of the Storie of Troy' which were described as 'something extraordinarie', when they were taken to Ingram's house in

⁴³ LPL, MSS 1228.

⁴⁴ CKS, U269 E198/2.

⁴⁵ CKS, U269/1 OW46; LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 51; Town and Fryman, "Lionel Cranfield and the Furnishing of Chelsea House 1620-1625," p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Everyman and other old religious plays*, ed. Ernest Rhys, (2006), Project Gutenberg, accessed 16/06/2011, www.gutenberg.org.uk, Appendix C; see also Newton, *North-East England 1569-1625*, pp. 158-9.

⁴⁷ LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 51, fol. 56; CKS, U269 E198/2.

York, along with other things, in 1642 from Carr's house at Chiswick.⁴⁸ Ingram also admired this subject matter which was displayed in the paintings he bought, which included images of Troy burning.⁴⁹

The paintings Ingram and Cranfield bought depicted a variety of subject matter. Cranfield's inventory of Copt Hall lists a large collection of pictures in the great gallery which included portraits of family, friends, and royalty.⁵⁰ Girouard notes how a great man, when walking in his gallery, 'could look at the faces of his friends, his ancestors and relations, the great people of his day, the kings and queens of England, perhaps even the Roman emperors, contemplate their characters, and be inspired to imitate their virtues.'⁵¹ Cranfield could use his paintings, then, as a way of trying to improve his own image by emulating the great subjects of his portraits. However, he not only owned portraits, as his inventory of Copt Hall reveals. In particular the paintings 'i perspective Church peece' and 'i picture of a ship', suggest he had refined tastes in art as Bracken, who noted seascapes in Robert Cecil's art collection and 'a prospective picture of a Cathedral Church', deemed these subjects very rare, with only Prince Henry also recorded as owning pictures of the sea and ships.⁵²

A document in Ingram's papers records that he owned pictures of Christ, Queen Elizabeth, Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer Salisbury, Lord Hobart, St. Mark, plus a painting of Christ being taken down from the cross.⁵³ Ingram noted that the portraits of Burghley, Salisbury, and Hobart cost him £18 altogether, whilst four other pictures were

⁴⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/27.

⁴⁹ WYASL, WYL100/Acc3997/2.

⁵⁰ CKS, U269/1 E16.

⁵¹ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 101.

⁵² CKS, U269/1 E16; Bracken, "Robert Cecil as Art Collector," p. 130.

⁵³ WYASL, WYL100/Acc3997/2.

deemed more valuable in his opinion. Referring to the images of St Mark, Sir Richard Bingham, the burning of Troy, and Joseph taking Christ down from the cross, Ingram stated ‘I would not for my mindes sake sell these 4 peeeces for 100^{li}.’⁵⁴ Apart from the portrait of Sir Richard Bingham, which was possibly painted by a more talented artist than the other portraits Ingram owned, these pieces were all biblical or classical, suggesting that narrative pictures were considered more valuable than portraiture. Certainly, Tarnya Cooper and Susan Foister have found that portraits were frequently ‘outnumbered by allegorical figures and narrative pictures’ which testified to their popularity, which in turn presumably enhanced their value.⁵⁵ Tara Hamling comments that the ‘fashion ... for religious scenes in domestic decoration gained pace during the first decades of the seventeenth century’ and believes it ‘reached a peak in the period 1620-40.’⁵⁶ This twenty year time span is the period in which Ingram and Cranfield purchased the majority of their art works to decorate their houses and many were of a religious nature.

Two interesting notes, one in Ingram’s papers and one in Cranfield’s, contain lists of biblical images purchased, but unfortunately both are undated. Within the Ingram papers is a note of five pictures which came to a total of £210 and included ‘The Banquet of the Gods’ by Frans Floris (1550), ‘St Jerome’ by Tintoretto (c1571-5),⁵⁷ ‘The Raising of Lazarus’ by Abraham Bloemaert (c.1600-5), and ‘The Preaching of St.

⁵⁴ WYASL, WYL100/Acc3997/6.

⁵⁵ Tarnya Cooper, ‘The Enchantment of the Familiar Face: Portraits as Domestic Objects in Elizabethan and Jacobean England,’ in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, eds. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010): 157-177, (p. 173).

⁵⁶ Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household, Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 8.

⁵⁷ The Temptation of St Jerome by Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) is part of the Temple Newsam Collection, which suggests this painting may be the one listed in Ingram’s papers but accredited to the wrong artist.

John the Baptist' by Cornelis van Haarlem (1602).⁵⁸ This is quite an impressive list, and although it cannot be proved that Ingram himself owned the pictures they were all completed within his lifetime, making it a possibility. The note in Cranfield's papers, however, can almost certainly be taken as a list of paintings which he himself purchased. This can be ascertained from the fact that the paintings were bought from Richard Colbeck, previously one of Cranfield's servants at the Wardrobe, who was still employed by Cranfield later in life to buy goods for him in London.⁵⁹ The paintings had previously belonged to Sir Adam Newton, Prince Henry's tutor and then secretary to the council of Charles I, who died in 1630, which also gives a more exact date to the document.⁶⁰ Four images are described in detail, including Pilate washing his hands and St. Anthony's Temptation, whilst thirty seven other paintings are simply listed, in total coming to £95 10^s.⁶¹ Both these notes contain images which are drawn from the New Testament, which during this period was problematic as images of Christ and the saints were heavily linked to idolatrous worship practised in Roman Catholicism.⁶² Ingram and Cranfield's preference for these images could be interpreted as a desire for traditional practices, but, as explained below, the issue was much more complex and many factors, not purely the subject matter of the picture, need consideration.

Where religious images were displayed within the home was significant, with even staunch Protestants seeing little harm in biblical scenes if they were not situated in the chapel.⁶³ Images used for 'beautifying of houses' rather than for idolization were often

⁵⁸ WYASL, WYL100/Acc3997/5.

⁵⁹ CKS, U269/1 F8; Prestwich, pp. 518-9.

⁶⁰ CKS, U269/1 F8; Stuart Handley, "Newton, Sir Adam, first baronet (d. 1630)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 4/2/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20046>.

⁶¹ CKS, U269/1 F8.

⁶² Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 19.

⁶³ Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 61.

accepted, even by radical Puritans such as William Perkins.⁶⁴ A close reading of Ingram's accounts can ascertain where several biblical scenes, painted for him by a local artist John Carleton in the 1630s, were situated at Temple Newsam (Figures 70-86). Carleton produced at least twenty religious paintings for Ingram, receiving a payment of £10 for his work in November 1636 and from then on 10^s a week until at least March 1637.⁶⁵ Of the twenty extant pictures, there are eighteen large wooden panels which each feature a biblical figure from the Old Testament, and the set is presumably complete as in February 1637 Richard Cundall was paid £1 for '18 freysinge frames that M Carleton had made for ye 18 picktures.'⁶⁶ It is likely that these were displayed in the chapel, although this cannot be proven, and this would be acceptable due to the fact they were not from the New Testament.

⁶⁴ Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, p. 48.

⁶⁵ Gilbert, "Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's Reconstruction at Temple Newsam," pp. 11-12; WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/24, Acc. 3016; WYL100/EA/13/23.

⁶⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/23, 24 February 1637.

Figure 70: Jonah and the Whale by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 71: Daniel by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 72: Jeremiah by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 73: Isaiah by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 74: Samuel by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 75: Amos by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 76: Ezekiel by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 77: Eliah by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 78: Aron by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 79: David by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 80: Joel by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 81: Zachariah by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 82: Nahum by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 83: Malachi by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 84: Micah by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 85: Zephaniah by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



Figure 86: *Moses* by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



After these pictures were finished it appears that Carleton started on the two other existing pictures as the following month he purchased three yards of cloth ‘for pictures for Ventris first Chimney peece,’ presumably the canvas on which he painted *The Supper at Emmaus* (Figure 87) and *The Last Supper*.⁶⁷ Gilbert surmises that these two paintings were the ones listed in the inventory of 1666 as being situated in the chapel, but this does not mean that they hung in the chapel originally.⁶⁸ The fact they were painted for ‘Ventris first Chimney peece’ suggests they were in fact situated in entertaining spaces as Ventris was paid for ‘makeinge 2 Chimney peeces in the drawinge Chamber next best Chamber in ye gallary for temple’, in April 1637.⁶⁹ Both the paintings represent the Eucharist, with Christ blessing bread at both suppers. At the ‘Supper at Emmaus’, taken from Luke 24:13-32, Cleophas and his companion only recognise Jesus after he consecrates the bread, signifying the Catholic belief that bread at Communion does not simply represent the body of Christ but *reveals* Christ himself. This obviously challenged the state religion and therefore was dangerous if placed within a space of worship. Ingram’s positioning of the pictures in the drawing chamber, rather than the chapel, however, weakened any link they may have had to religious uses. Ingram’s Puritan sympathies, then, were not compromised by his art collection.

⁶⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/23, 18 March 1637; Gilbert, “Light on Sir Arthur Ingram’s Reconstruction at Temple Newsam,” p. 12. Carleton’s painting of *The Last Supper* is in such a deteriorated state that an image of it could not be attained.

⁶⁸ Gilbert, “Light on Sir Arthur Ingram’s Reconstruction at Temple Newsam,” p. 12.

⁶⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/23, 7 April 1637.

Figure 87: *Supper at Emmaus* by John Carleton, c. 1636, Temple Newsam



It has been noted that daily household prayers were not always carried out in the chapel and could often be performed in rooms such as the great chamber, the parlour or the hall, which adds a further complication to the use and display of religious images within the home.⁷⁰ Cranfield's ordinances for Chelsea support the fact that the chapel was not the only place of worship within the household, ordering that '[u]ppon warning of ye bell (or otherwise by direction) every one must presently repaire unto Chaple, great-chamber, or to any other appointed roome: and ther, at morninge, and eveninge praiers, sermons, and such godlie exercises must remaine in reverente behaviour'⁷¹ So it was not only religious images hanging in the chapel that could be in the same vicinity as the household when they were worshipping. However, at Chelsea, most of the 'communal'

⁷⁰ Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, Ch. 4.

⁷¹ LPL, MSS 3361, fol. 9; In July 1640 Ingram paid 13^s for '3 bookes for the Chappell at yorke beinge service bookes for servants,' which is the only clue in his papers as to where the household worshipped, although it is evident that these service books could easily have been removed from the chapel into a different space within the home to carry out prayers, WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

rooms did not contain biblical scenes, or if they did, such as the hangings of Noah in the great chamber, they were Old Testament narratives which did not question the reformed religion.⁷² The private rooms at Chelsea were a different matter, however. Lady Perkins, Cranfield's wife's mother, had '6 peeces of rich hangings of our Saviour' within her chamber, whereas Cranfield's own bed chamber was adorned with, among other things, hangings of 'ye passion'.⁷³ The Chelsea inventory records surprisingly few religious images, which is in striking contrast to Cranfield's inventory for Copt Hall taken a few years later.⁷⁴

Along with various biblical narratives which adorned many of the rooms at Copt Hall, the chapel included pictures of the Virgin Mary, the passion, and '1 picture of Christ on the Sea.'⁷⁵ Hanging these pictures within a space of worship clearly shows Cranfield's affinity to Arminianism. Pauline Croft has noted that Sir Robert Cecil, who began his life as an orthodox Protestant, adorned his chapel at Hatfield with images of Christ and other biblical figures, and believes he was 'the first great patron of the emerging high church party, antedating Buckingham and Charles I by a generation.'⁷⁶ The chapel at Hatfield influenced James' decoration of his chapel at Holyrood in 1617, and later Laud would claim at his trial that he was not the only eminent figure who had decorated his

⁷² LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 51.

⁷³ LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 52, fol. 54.

⁷⁴ CKS, U269/1 E16. The inventory is roughly dated as 1625 in the catalogue reference and is definitely after 1625 as a picture listed in the great gallery is of *King* Charles, so must be after his accession to the English throne on 27 March 1625. It is also likely that an inventory was taken quite soon after Cranfield removed to Copt Hall from Chelsea to provide a record of the goods that were already at the Essex home and the goods that were brought from Chelsea, which would supplement other inventories which record the transferral of goods on 30 March 1625 (CKS, U269 E198/2).

⁷⁵ CKS, U269/1 E16.

⁷⁶ Pauline Croft, "The Religion of Robert Cecil," *The Historical Journal* 34:4 (Dec, 1991): 773-796, (p. 773).

chapel in such a manner, inferring that Hatfield may too have influenced his designs.⁷⁷ An inventory of 1635 for the Duke of Buckingham's paintings at York House, although not mentioning the chapel, further emphasises the growing trend of the 'beauty of holiness' which was to be found in court circles in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, with at least two thirds of the collection being religious in tone.⁷⁸ Similarly, the Countess of Arundel's inventory for Tart Hall of 1641 included a vast number of images of Christ and New Testament scenes, along with more obvious examples of Catholic belief such as 'a long Cushion Embroydered of the Armes of King Philip & Queen Mary.'⁷⁹ Cranfield himself owned a long cushion, table carpet, and window piece all 'of the Apostles richly imbroidered wth gould,' clearly reflecting his Arminian sympathies.⁸⁰ The paintings Cranfield bought, however, not only highlight his religious ideology but also reveal a desire to emulate the collections of leading court figures, and even the king, which would further aid his self-fashioning by presenting himself as a man of great taste and distinction. He may have been led by his early patron Northampton, whose house of the same name was decorated throughout with a significant number of New Testament images such as 'folding triptychs of the Pietà and of Christ spilling his blood into a golden fountain.'⁸¹ It is interesting to note, that Buckingham's collection contained a portrait of Cranfield by Mytens (possibly a copy of the one Cranfield commissioned for himself in 1622), suggesting that despite

⁷⁷ Croft, "The Religion of Robert Cecil," pp. 788-9.

⁷⁸ Randall Davies, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 10:48 (March, 1907): 376-382.

⁷⁹ L. H. Cust, "Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, K. G. -III," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 20:106 (Jan, 1912): 233-236, (p. 234).

⁸⁰ CKS, U269 E198/2, 30 March 1625.

⁸¹ Peck, "The Mentality of a Jacobean Grandee," p. 166.

Buckingham's role in Cranfield's downfall he obviously esteemed Cranfield as a man of substance and worthy to hang on his wall.⁸²

Italian art was becoming more fashionable in James' reign, replacing the late sixteenth century preference for art from the Low Countries.⁸³ The Earl of Somerset and the Earl of Arundel were particularly interested in Italian art, with Arundel collecting not only paintings but also sketch books and sculptures from the country, which composed the most famous collection of Stuart England.⁸⁴ Ingram and Cranfield were not as experienced in the art trade as connoisseurs like Arundel and tended to indulge in Netherlandish art rather than Italian. However, Arundel also used artists from the Low Countries, such as Daniel Mytens and Van Dyck, both of whom Cranfield commissioned. Arundel had employed Mytens to paint both himself and his wife in full length portraits around 1618, and roughly two years later he commissioned Van Dyck, who's first calling on his maiden visit to England was Arundel House, realising the potential of the young Flemish artist.⁸⁵ Cranfield had his own portrait composed by Daniel Mytens around the end of 1622 for a cost of £20 (Figure 3), roughly two years after his daughter Martha, Countess of Monmouth, had her portrait painted by Mytens (Figure 88).⁸⁶ During the 1620s Mytens was the most esteemed portrait painter in England and painted portraits of King James and King Charles.⁸⁷ Although Van Dyck had visited England in 1620-1621, he did not carry out many commissions during this period aside from that of Arundel's, and Mytens was still used by many to portray their

⁸² Davies, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635," p. 379.

⁸³ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 166.

⁸⁴ David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁸⁵ Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 2.

⁸⁶ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 17 December 1622.

⁸⁷ Anne Thackray, "Mytens, Daniel (c.1590–1647)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 24/05/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19712>.

own image until he was supplanted by Van Dyck on his return in 1632. Lauded as ‘the greatest portrait painter in early Stuart England’ Van Dyck was commissioned by Cranfield to paint his daughter Frances (Figure 89). Like Arundel, Cranfield clearly followed the changing trends in portrait painting, having his own portrait painted by the then court favourite, Mytens, in 1622, and having his daughter Frances’ picture painted by Mytens’ successor Van Dyck.

Figure 88: Martha Cranfield, Countess of Monmouth, by Daniel Mytens, c.1620

Image has been removed due to copyright restriction

Figure 89: Lady Frances Cranfield, Countess of Dorset, by Anthony Van Dyck, c.1638



The gold frame that encased Van Dyck's portrait of Frances was supplied by George Geldorp for £6.⁸⁸ Geldorp was 'the picture drawer in blacke friers' to whom Ingram paid numerous amounts of money over several years, presumably for the portrait of himself which now hangs at Temple Newsam (Figure 2).⁸⁹ Although Geldorp painted other members of the aristocracy such as William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury, he was criticized by many other painters for his lack of artistic skill and he tended to imitate other artists, particularly Van Dyck, of whom he was an assistant.⁹⁰ Perhaps Ingram viewed Van Dyck's portrait for Cranfield and wanted a similar, but more affordable, style for his own portrait, so hired Geldorp. Just as Geldorp could not equal his superior colleague Van Dyck, Ingram could not match Cranfield's art collection. Cranfield also employed esteemed craftsman to make picture frames for him as well as the artist Geldorp. The carver Zachary Taylor, who was commissioned by Nicholas Stone, was paid £6 by Cranfield for 'the pictor frame of the Right Honble Lady Countes of Midellsexs picto', which was then painted and gilded by Matthew Goodrich for a further £6.⁹¹ Although Geldorp did not make the frame this time, it is clear that, in his role of one of Van Dyck's assistants, he painted the picture, 'faict la Coppie de Madame

⁸⁸ National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive and Library (NPGHAL), Mr Geldorp's Bills, 1630s, 17-F-3 – 17-F-5.

⁸⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; WYL100/EA/13/41 – 9 December 1638 £4, 15 December 1638 £10, 17 December 1638 '2 pictures brought from Mr Geldropes', 2 January 1639 'a porter from Geldorp 2^s', 'to Geldorp £10', 'to Nobes to carry pictures to Geldorp 1^s 8^d', 11 January 1639 'to Geldorp's waterman 1^s', 23 January 1639 'to the marchant mr geldrope brought £14', 4 February 1639 'to Busby to go to Mr Geldropes wth ye pictures 6^d', 18 February 1639 'to waterman that brought 2 pictures from Geldorp 1^s'.

⁹⁰ L. H. Cust, "Geldorp, George (d. 1665)," rev. P. G. Matthews, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 01/06/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10507>; Jeremy Wood, "Dyck, Sir Anthony Van (1599–1641)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 01/06/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28081>.

⁹¹ CKS, U269 A462/5, 6 August 1639; see Chapter 5, p. 263 which describes how Taylor and Goodrich were commissioned by Nicholas Stone for Cranfield rather than directly by Cranfield.

la Contesse de Middelsexes apres M^r Vandyck 12^{li}-0-0', (Figure 90).⁹² Geldorp's bill is not only useful in establishing that Cranfield used Geldorp as much as his friend Ingram, but also in revealing that Cranfield owned more work by Van Dyck than the sole portrait of his daughter Frances. Geldorp made frames for two more original Van Dyck's, one of which is not described in further detail, but the other is referred to as 'la bergeers' (the shepherd).⁹³ This is more than likely 'The Shepherd Paris', c.1629-30, rather than the more famous work 'Adoration of the Shepherds' which was painted much earlier (1616-8).⁹⁴ 'The Shepherd Paris' now hangs in The Wallace Collection, London, and so far no patron for the painting has been identified, but perhaps it was Cranfield (Figure 91).

Figure 90: Anne Cranfield (nee Brett), Countess of Middlesex, George Geldorp, c. 1639

Image has been removed due to copyright restriction

⁹² NPGHAL, Mr Geldorp's Bills, 1630s, 17-F-3 – 17-F-5; Geldorp provided Cranfield with other examples of his work, such as a large flower patterned piece for the Countess to be hung in her closet.

⁹³ NPGHAL, Mr Geldorp's Bills, 1630s, 17-F-3 – 17-F-5.

⁹⁴ Christopher Vogtherr, "The Shepherd Paris," The Wallace Collection Treasure of the Month, February 2009, (Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 2009), accessed 01/06/2011, <http://www.wallacecollection.org/whatson/treasure/79>.

Figure 91: The Shepherd Paris, by Anthony Van Dyck, c. 1629-30

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Ingram commissioned other painters besides Geldorp and Carleton, and these were mainly English artists based in London. The pictures he purchased in the capital were often not just for his home at Westminster, but were transported back to York for his

northern homes.⁹⁵ On Lady Day 1635 Ingram paid £7 to ‘Mr Greeneburie the painter’, presumably Richard Greenbury, who had in 1631 been painter to the queen.⁹⁶ Greenbury lived in St. Margaret’s parish in Westminster and that may be how Ingram knew him. Although Greenbury was an artist, he carried out many forms of painting not only producing pictures; in 1631 he was paid by the exchequer for various art work including gilding frames and glass painting in enamel whilst in 1636 he patented a process for painting in oils on different types of cloth.⁹⁷ It cannot be assumed, then, that Ingram’s payment to him was for pictures, it could have been for decorative work at his house. On 3 January 1639 Ingram received a picture from Sir James Palmer, an expert in heraldry and miniature painter.⁹⁸ Palmer had painted miniatures of James I and his favourite Robert Carr, among other eminent figures, testifying to his accomplishment as a painter.⁹⁹ The previous month Ingram paid ‘Cudington ye painter in ye Strand’ £5 2^s for one picture and three chambermaids.¹⁰⁰ This was most certainly George Cuddington, standardised as Cottington in the painter-stainers’ minute book of which he was steward by 1624, who painted portraits for notable figures such as Sir Edward Dering, and who was almost certainly related to Sir Francis Cottington, a close friend of Ingram’s.¹⁰¹ Despite using these English painters it is most likely that it was Geldorp who painted

⁹⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 10 January 1634, 2^s was paid to the carpenter, Glover, for making a case for a picture sent to York.

⁹⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; L. H. Cust, “Greenbury, Richard (*b.* before 1600?, *d.* 1670),” rev. Sarah Herring, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 16/06/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11412>.

⁹⁷ Cust, “Greenbury, Richard (*b.* before 1600?, *d.* 1670),” *ODNB*.

⁹⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/41; John Murdoch, “Palmer, Sir James (*bap.* 1585, *d.* 1658),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 16/06/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21189>.

⁹⁹ Murdoch, “Palmer, Sir James (*bap.* 1585, *d.* 1658),” *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/41.

¹⁰¹ Robert Tittler, “Cottington, George (*d.* in or before 1648),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 16/06/2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/99723>; Sir Francis Cottington regularly dined with Ingram at his house in Dean’s Yard, see below, p. 356, and on 27 February 1634 Ingram took £6 when he ‘went to christen my Lor Cottingtons child,’ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

Ingram's portrait as Geldorp was paid considerably more money than the other painters, and was frequently coming and going from Ingram's house, presumably for sessions when Ingram would sit for him.¹⁰² Also, after Ingram's death one of his servants was paid by Ellison to 'goe wth my Mr draught of his picture & his clothes to Mr Gildrope', suggesting the portrait had only been drafted by Geldorp before Ingram's death and was later finished, with the aid of his clothes to copy from.¹⁰³

As well as accumulating works of art the elite of the early seventeenth century indulged in a new fashion for collecting exotic rarities, which was facilitated by the exploration of the New World. The nurseryman John Tradescant travelled all over the world in search of rare plant specimens and on his journeys he also picked up many weird and wonderful items which he displayed in a museum he established for that purpose.¹⁰⁴ 'The Ark', as it was named, contained numerous curiosities which were listed in Tradescant's catalogue *Musaeum Tradescantianum* (1656), such as 'the Indian lip-stone which they wear in the lip', and 'A Hand of Jet usually given to Children, in *Turky*, to preserve them from Witchcraft'.¹⁰⁵ However, you did not have to travel to such exotic places to acquire such items; John Evelyn recorded in his diary in August 1641 that he picked up 'some shells, & Indian Curiosities' from a shop in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁶ Tradescant's museum also included 'Elephants head and tayle', whereas Cranfield's inventory for Copt Hall recorded '12 Elephants heads' displayed in the gallery alongside

¹⁰² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/41, 22 December 1638.

¹⁰³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 30 August 1642; Sir Arthur Ingram the younger also commissioned Geldorp, paying him at least £11 for a portrait of the Lord of Holland, his son-in-law, in September 1642.

¹⁰⁴ Prudence Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants: Gardeners to the Rosy and Lily Queen*, rev. ed. (London: Peter Owen, 2006), esp. Ch. 7; Cecil, who employed Tradescant at Hatfield, also collected rarities, see Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 29. For more information on Tradescant's horticultural activities see Chapter 7, pp. 415-6.

¹⁰⁵ Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants*, Appendix III: *Musaeum Tradescantianum*, pp. 256, 258.

¹⁰⁶ John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 29.

his paintings.¹⁰⁷ This suggests Cranfield was keen to exhibit to guests his appreciation not only of pictures, which had been collected by the elite for a long time, but also of exotic rarities which had only recently become part of the aristocracy's collections. Sir Walter Cope and the Earl of Arundel were both well known for their *Wunderkammer*, collections of rarities displayed in special cabinets, and were both closely associated with Cranfield.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps their great collections had invested in Cranfield a desire to become a collector, although the elephant heads are the only rarities documented in his possession, implying that the desire was possibly not as practically achievable. Ingram's papers do not list any 'curiosities', suggesting he was not part of the select group of elite personages who indulged in this new fashion. It is not surprising to find that Ingram did not possess any such items, and that Cranfield possessed few, as only several *Wunderkammern* have been noted in England during the early seventeenth century and these were owned by gentleman who had a particular passion for collecting itself rather than simply using the rarities to display their social prestige.¹⁰⁹

iii) The circulation of goods

The circulation of goods was prevalent in the early seventeenth century and could include the loan of items, purchase of second hand goods, or simply the transfer of objects between different abodes of the same family.¹¹⁰ Cranfield's political career clearly affected the movement of goods between his houses. Just as his career at court was beginning to take shape he had Richard Sheppard send seating from his country house in Pishiobury to furnish his lodging at the Royal Wardrobe. The six back stools,

¹⁰⁷ Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants*, Appendix III: *Musaeum Tradescantianum*, p. 248; CKS, U269/1 E16.

¹⁰⁸ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, pp. 154-6; Cope was involved with Cranfield in the speculation of Crown lands, Prestwich pp. 32, 78.

¹⁰⁹ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 155.

¹¹⁰ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, pp. 222-3.

six stools without backs, four women's stools and a great chair, all of velvet, were clearly of some value as Sheppard delayed the sending of them firstly due to bad weather and the fear they may get wet, and secondly because he did not want them to be carried with the wagon men as their carts were full of unsavoury things such as 'bucher meyt'.¹¹¹ Sheppard finally arranged to have them sent in his own cart to Cranfield at the Wardrobe.¹¹² Over a year later he sent a bed stuffed with the 'best feathers ... to Whytehall', presumably for his lodgings at court.¹¹³ Unfortunately it was not so many years later that Cranfield had to relinquish goods due to his diminished financial status after his impeachment. In November 1624, only six months after his downfall, Cranfield sold plate worth £616 17^s 6^d to Mr John Williams, the same goldsmith Robert Carr, the Earl of Somerset, had commissioned to make Nuremberg plate for his daughter's christening in 1615.¹¹⁴ By May 1626 Cranfield was becoming desperate and he sent plate to London to be sold or pawned for £500 even though he considered it worth above £2,000.¹¹⁵ He wrote to Ingram bewailing his situation, 'my plate and jewels, they are all at pawn, as you know I have not so much as a silver dish left me'.¹¹⁶

Chelsea house was the greatest casualty of Cranfield's impeachment, being seized by the Crown and later granted to Buckingham. Cranfield transported his chattels from his suburban house to his country seat in Essex, Copt Hall, where he was to reside after his impeachment. Items removed included chairs and stools of carnation velvet, a Spanish leather chair, hangings embroidered with gold, embroidered China hangings, and

¹¹¹ CKS, U269/1 E20/10 [ON6232;6233], 16-17 April 1619.

¹¹² CKS, U269/1 E20/10 [ON6233], 17 April 1619.

¹¹³ CKS, U269/1 AP 70, 16 December 1620.

¹¹⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP69; A. R. Braunmuller, "Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, as Collector and Patron," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 230-250, (pp. 236-7).

¹¹⁵ CKS, U 269 E264, 3 May 1626.

¹¹⁶ Upton, p. 105.

Turkey and Persian carpets.¹¹⁷ This grand removal of goods must have been as humiliating for Cranfield as Ingram's expulsion from court in 1615 when his furniture, including 'rich hangings, bedding and silver vessell', was carried out of his Whitehall lodgings.¹¹⁸ It also appears that Cranfield may have taken some items that Buckingham expected him to leave at Chelsea, as in October 1627 Catchmay listed some items sent from Copt Hall to Wallingford House, one of Villiers' homes.¹¹⁹ Cranfield had to give up various sumptuous goods such as a bedstead with a canopy of crimson damask, several pieces of tapestry hangings of forest work, Turkey carpets, as well as many blankets and quilts.¹²⁰ The stripping away of such luxury items parallels Cranfield's diminishing status and power which had been swiftly ripped away from under his feet, very much like his carpets and rugs. Although he had to part with some of his elaborate furnishings, he still had a great amount of goods left. It is interesting to note that listed in an inventory of goods from London to Wiston in 1629 'fower peeces of hangings forrest worke' appear.¹²¹ Perhaps Cranfield claimed the upholstery back after Buckingham's death in 1628.

Buying second hand goods did not necessarily mean the items were considered of diminished worth, in fact in certain instances, particularly when bought from one's superiors, it could add prestige to them. Cranfield's 1622 inventory of goods at Pishiobury lists '5 peeces of hanginges boughte of my ladie Bedforde', who was an eminent patron of the arts, so the hangings were presumably of good taste.¹²² Ingram also bought items from aristocratic friends, paying £56 in 1641 for three gilt

¹¹⁷ CKS, U269/1 T40; U269 E198/2.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 2, p. 58; *Chamberlain* I, Letter 226, 30 March 1615, p. 590.

¹¹⁹ CKS, U269 E228/3.

¹²⁰ CKS, U269 E228/3.

¹²¹ CKS, U269 E272/1.

¹²² CKS, U269 E277, 27 June 1622.

candlesticks from the Countess of Suffolk.¹²³ The 1667 inventory for Temple Newsam listed items that were to be sold off due to the death of Henry Viscount Irwin. Buyers, including many people below gentry status, were listed in the margin next to the goods they were going to purchase or had already bought, and the prices which they were to pay or had already paid.¹²⁴ The buyers could acquire quality goods such as tapestries, looking glasses, pictures and bedsteads, which no doubt helped them emulate the style of a viscount within their more modest homes. There is also a sense that the elite were buying second hand goods because they were considered antiques, and this may be particularly relevant to Ingram and Cranfield as they did not inherit any heirlooms due to their new found wealth and status.

It was also practical to buy second hand goods, especially from the previous owner of the house; a process which Cranfield's steward Richard Sheppard negotiated with Sir Thomas Mildmay at Pishiobury.¹²⁵ However, the new owner of the house was not always guaranteed first pick of the unwanted furniture, as Sheppard clearly conveyed to Cranfield when he informed him that the local townsfolk had been and set their prices on various items of furniture for Mildmay to consider.¹²⁶ The Chauncy family were particularly greedy in their staking of furniture, provoking Sheppard's ire and causing him to go and mark 'to or thre half bedsteads a trundell bede w^t some other triffels to the valew of xxxiiii^s w^c you shall have present use for' reasoning that 'others had bought them if I had not.'¹²⁷

¹²³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/7.

¹²⁴ WYAS, WYL100/EA3/11.

¹²⁵ CKS, U269/1 E19, 17 January 1612.

¹²⁶ CKS, U269/1 E19, 23 January 1612.

¹²⁷ CKS, U269/1 E19, 23 January 1612, 23 March 1612.

Furniture could also be hired, an especially useful service in London, with its defined seasons. The Duke and Duchess of Chevreuse hired tapestries, beds, and chairs amongst other things from the upholster Ralph Grynder when they stayed at Denmark House with the new French queen in 1625.¹²⁸ Ingram also used such services, hiring a hanging from Mr Tulley for his son Thomas' stay in London in 1642.¹²⁹ Cranfield's accounts reveal the cost of bed hire to be 5^s 6^d per bed for two and a half weeks, a price he paid when he hired two beds with their furniture from Reece Ellinson in March 1633.¹³⁰ His accounts also note furniture carried to the Three Nuns, an inn that was situated on Aldgate High Street, suggesting furniture could be temporarily set up at inns for short stays.¹³¹ Ingram had furniture set up and taken down for certain periods when he had visitors. His accounts suggest that he had to ask his son Thomas to lodge with someone else in June 1634, but he sent his joiner William Glover to set up his bed for him.¹³² Loans were also sought from friends and family as well as tradesmen. Cranfield's son-in-law Richard Sackville, fifth Earl of Dorset, wrote to him in July 1638, 'I pray Lend mee what silver dishes you can for one meale on monday dinner I will returne them you ... on tuesday agayne'.¹³³ On 29 May 1634, a porter was paid 6^d for bringing 'the trenchers from my Lor of Middlesex,' to Ingram, suggesting they also loaned dinnerware to each other when they were in need.¹³⁴ The Earl of Sussex recorded in his

¹²⁸ Geoffrey Beard, *Upholsterers and Interior Furnishing in England 1530-1840*, The Bard Graduate Centre for Studies in the Decorative Arts (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 60.

¹²⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

¹³⁰ CKS, U269 A402/1.

¹³¹ CKS, U269 A402/1, 16 May 1633.

¹³² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 20 and 26 June 1634.

¹³³ CKS, U269/1 CP40, 23 July 1638, Nonsuch.

¹³⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

accounts 'Carrying home my Lady Devonsheires plate', suggesting he also borrowed from his friends.¹³⁵

Goods not only circulated within London, provincial customers often sent agents or friends to the capital to acquire luxury goods for them which they then sent back to them by carrier. Journeys to London could be extremely expensive, as illustrated by Sir Henry Slingsby's experiences; in 1639 his visit cost him £200, whilst in 1640 he set aside a staggering £731 for the purpose.¹³⁶ It is little wonder then that some people avoided going to London themselves, but still desirous for certain luxury goods, would ask friends or servants to send the products to them. In May 1613, the Earl of Cumberland was ordering goods from London through Thomas Little.¹³⁷ The Countess of Exeter sent her servant Richard Ayre to go to London to buy some things for her whilst she remained at Wiston in June 1630.¹³⁸ Ingram bought some hangings for Sir George Wentworth at a cost of £84 10^s and received the money back on 14 March 1635, so perhaps George Wentworth could not get to London.¹³⁹ Inventories and accounts of elite northern householders such as John, Lord Lumley and Lord William Howard show that close proximity to London and Court ties were not necessary to achieve a sumptuously furnished house. An inventory of Lumley Castle in County Durham taken in 1609 records paintings and furniture worth £1404 17^s 8^d, including one set of hangings for £100.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ *Early Stuart Household Accounts*, ed. Lionel M. Munby, *Hertfordshire Record Publications* 2 (1986), p. 171, 20 May 1638.

¹³⁶ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 125-6.

¹³⁷ BL, Add MSS 75,352.

¹³⁸ CKS, U269/1 E65.

¹³⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

¹⁴⁰ Mary F. S. Hervey, "A Lumley Inventory of 1609," *The Walpole Society* 6 (1917-18): 36-50.

However, it was not only London which could provide quality goods. As Joan Thirsk has noted, the provinces did not simply serve London, ‘they also *drove* material London.’¹⁴¹ As discussed in Chapter 5, the varied geological make up of England led to pockets of specific raw materials in particular regions, which were utilized within the locality to produce quality goods which could ‘drive’ the London market. These provincial areas of production also provided the opportunity for people to buy goods outside the metropolis. Lord William Howard of Naworth’s accounts reveal that he bought goods from various provincial towns, such as Penrith and Newcastle, and bought certain items straight from the source of production rather than via an urban market, such as the ‘vi bundells of mattes out of Norfolk’ he bought in 1620, where local rushes and reeds were utilized to make floor coverings.¹⁴² A major part of the English cloth trade was centred in West Yorkshire, with Halifax in particular employing highly skilled craftsmen to carry out finishing work on cloth.¹⁴³ Ingram obviously used these local upholsterers as well as London ones as he owned eighteen ‘Setworke hallifax stooles.’¹⁴⁴ Ingram clearly admired the craftsmanship of his home county, regularly sending furniture from York down to London, such as ‘12 greene and yealow stools [made] for London’ which were sent south in August 1638, as well as ‘two hampers with pictures for London’ sent a month later.¹⁴⁵ Distance from London, then, did not restrict the variety of goods that could be purchased. Buyers from the provinces could either acquire goods from London through agents and friends, but they could also purchase quality goods from local towns which often had specialized industries. This

¹⁴¹ Joan Thirsk, “England’s Provinces: Did they Serve or Drive Material London?” in *Material London ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000): 97-108, (p. 97).

¹⁴² Ornsby, “Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle,” p. 135.

¹⁴³ C. G. A. Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700*, Vol. 2 *Industry, trade and government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 90, 98.

¹⁴⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/4.

¹⁴⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25.

suggests that householders in the northern regions could acquire just as luxurious goods as their southern counterparts and could therefore furnish their houses to the same standard.

6.2 The household and the community

i) To order and serve

To run an elite household required a great number of servants, but as the seventeenth century progressed retinues became much smaller, due to cost and the move towards greater privacy within the home. For these reasons the ‘demonstration of status had ... to be concentrated in personal ornamentation and personal behaviour’, therefore Ingram and Cranfield had to be especially aware of the image they projected.¹⁴⁶ The steward at Chelsea House was informed in a set of ordinances drawn up in January 1622 not to keep servants which caused unnecessary charges, and the preceding year had obviously been expensive with the total wages for Cranfield’s servants that year coming to £671 2^s 10^d.¹⁴⁷ A check roll made at the same time as the ordinances, however, listed seventy servants in Cranfield’s employment.¹⁴⁸ This was a significant number, especially when compared to other retinues of the time, and was not far off Cecil’s household establishment at Hatfield where he employed eighty domestic servants.¹⁴⁹ Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, on the other hand, had thirty-one male and nine female servants in his establishment in 1601, just under half the number Cranfield had.¹⁵⁰ Ingram himself only had twenty-one servants in 1632; however other Yorkshire gentlemen such as Wentworth and Sir Henry Bellasis of Newburgh Priory had roughly fifty servants

¹⁴⁶ Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 132.

¹⁴⁷ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8095].

¹⁴⁸ LPL MSS 3361, fols. 8, 38-40.

¹⁴⁹ Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 28.

¹⁵⁰ James E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, V 1583-1702 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), p. 659.

each.¹⁵¹ Despite Ingram's modest number of servants, he recommended servants to Cranfield, one of whom was Mr Edward Payler, who became a gentleman waiter at Chelsea.¹⁵² The waiters at Chelsea were not to 'stande gazinge, nor listeninge to what is said, or spoken, nor report abroad what speeches are there uttered' implying that a high level of trust was needed between Cranfield and his staff.¹⁵³ Cranfield's employment of Payler on the basis of Ingram's recommendation suggests he valued his friend's judgement.

Just as Cranfield had advocated household reforms for King James, his own house in Chelsea was subject to retrenchment and order. A '[l]ist of servants with faults and things to be reformed' labelled Mr Kettlewell as '[a]n Incorrigible Drunkard' and Richard Colbeck as '[u]nfaithfull & Irregular' along with other household staff and their defects.¹⁵⁴ Edward Town and Olivia Fryman pinpoint this list as the reason that Cranfield employed Morgan Colman to draw up a set of household ordinances for Chelsea House in 1621.¹⁵⁵ However, the men in question were still in Cranfield's employment after the ordinances had been set down, and remained in office the year after, suggesting they were 'reformed' rather than discharged.¹⁵⁶ Morgan Colman, the man that Cranfield enlisted to compose his household ordinances, had been a gentleman waiter to Queen Anne until her death in 1619, and was therefore experienced in the running of elite households.¹⁵⁷ It was vital for Cranfield to show he could govern his household efficiently otherwise his ability to oversee the government of the country

¹⁵¹ Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry*, pp. 112-113.

¹⁵² LPL, MSS 3361, fol. 38.

¹⁵³ LPL, MSS 3361, fol. 10.

¹⁵⁴ CKS, U269/1 AP76.

¹⁵⁵ Edward Town and Olivia Fryman, "Fabricating a Courtier's House: The House and Household of Lionel Cranfield 1619-1624," Paper delivered at the Society for Court Studies Seminar, 14/02/2011, at the Paul Mellon Centre for British Art, London.

¹⁵⁶ LPL, MSS 3361, fols. 38-9.

¹⁵⁷ Town and Fryman, "Fabricating a Courtier's House".

could be called into question, especially as the two were linked within the public mind due to treatises such as Dod and Cleaver's *A godly forme of houshold gouernment* that equated the household to 'a little Commonwealth' and stated that it was 'impossible for a man to understand how to governe the common-wealth, that doth not know how to rule his own house.'¹⁵⁸

Goodman noted that Cranfield had 'as good servants as any were in England', to which Cranfield apparently agreed but added the caveat '[w]hen I was treasurer and master of the wards, then I had good servants indeed, for their attendance was for their own advantage; but now that I have nothing but my own estate, and have young children to care for, and that they must depend but only upon their wages, I have but servants as other men have.'¹⁵⁹ However, the documentary evidence appears to prove otherwise. It has already been noted that Cranfield's servants at Chelsea, whilst he was in office, needed to be reformed, whereas after his impeachment his servants at Copt Hall received much praise from Elizabeth Coventry, wife of Sir Thomas Coventry the Lord Keeper, who had been staying at Copt Hall with her husband in 1636.¹⁶⁰ At this time the servants numbered almost forty, making their yearly wages in total roughly £350 a year.¹⁶¹ By 1645, when a list of servants was drawn up just after Cranfield's death, there were only twenty-one servants left at Copt Hall, still quite a large number considering

¹⁵⁸ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A godly forme of houshold gouernment for the ordering of priuate families, according to the direction of Gods Word. Whereunto is adioyned in a more particular manner, the seuerall duties of the husband towards his wife: and the wiues dutie towards her husband: the parents dutie towards their children; and the childrens towards their parents: the masters dutie towards his seruants; and also the seruants dutie towards their masters*, (1630 ed.), pp. A1-A4.

¹⁵⁹ Goodman, I, p. 319.

¹⁶⁰ CKS, U269/1 CP30, 17 October 1636. Lord Coventry was one of the few friends Cranfield had left at Court, and the fact Coventry invited King Charles to come and stay at Copt Hall whilst he was borrowing it from Cranfield must have been quite disheartening for Cranfield who was at that time ill at Milcote, Prestwich p. 540.

¹⁶¹ Prestwich, p. 518, the reference to the document is not given, it is merely listed as an 'unnumbered' document with a likely date of 1635.

that Cranfield had been using Milcote as his country residence during the remaining years of his life rather than Copt Hall.¹⁶² At Milcote in 1639 Cranfield kept forty servants which came to an annual wage of £304, and although the number of servants was almost the same as at Copt Hall four years earlier, some expense had been spared, presumably because Cranfield's heir, James, no longer required a tutor, who had been the most highly paid servant at Copt Hall receiving £50 a year.¹⁶³ The servants included a French woman for Frances, a tailor, and a solicitor, suggesting Cranfield still had enough money to employ more than simply 'necessary' servants.

Expense was one of the main reasons for reforming a household and even after Colman's input there were obviously still problems with controlling expenditure at Cranfield's Chelsea residence. In an undated memo to Lady Cranfield Colman proffered 'some reasons ... [for] the encreas of ye charge and expence in house', in which he blamed Cranfield and his wife for not taking the matter in hand.¹⁶⁴ Colman was shortly to depart from Chelsea, presumably because expenses were still not under control. However, Colman noted that in his time at Chelsea he had 'savede above two hundred markes.'¹⁶⁵ This was clearly not enough, and although it appears the servants were reformed after the ordinances were drawn up, the great expense of the household seems to have remained an issue. Immediately after Cranfield's impeachment George Lowe reported to Ingram that Cranfield had 'since put off many of his servants' which was a necessary step as he had a large fine to pay.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² CKS, U269 E198/2, 30 August 1645.

¹⁶³ CKS, U269/1 E360; Prestwich, p. 518.

¹⁶⁴ CKS, U269/1 F6.

¹⁶⁵ CKS, U269/1 F6.

¹⁶⁶ *Various VIII*, p. 26.

It is interesting to note that Colman's memo was addressed to Lady Cranfield rather than Cranfield himself, suggesting she had significant control over the running of the household. Although the household has been identified as the main space which women could dominate in this time period, this generally applied to women of lower social status who worked within the household.¹⁶⁷ Lady Cranfield's role was clearly in a supervisory capacity, but before Cranfield had secured his official court posts the women closest to him were clearly more involved with domestic affairs. As Chapter 2 stated, in his younger years Cranfield had been under the domineering figure of his mother, Martha, living and sharing household arrangements with her after his first marriage in 1599 before he moved into his house in Wood Street. It is recorded that just one maid-servant would be paid for and possibly a man-servant, a considerable difference to the number of servants Cranfield had in his Chelsea residence with his second wife Anne. Living in his mother's house in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, Cranfield was yet to improve his social status and therefore it is likely his mother and his wife Elizabeth helped out in the daily running of the household. Cranfield's accounts from 1603-4 reveal that Elizabeth was given £8 a week housekeeping money as well as her quarterage, whilst Elizabeth herself also kept household accounts recording her daily expenditure on food suggesting she was heavily involved with provisioning for the household.¹⁶⁸ Ingram paid his wife and daughter housekeeping money when they resided at Stratford-le-Bowe in 1615.¹⁶⁹ Although Ingram had been knighted by this time he was still to make his fortune, and it has been noted in Chapter 2 that his financial status was far from stable in these early years.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, like

¹⁶⁷ Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 205.

¹⁶⁸ *Cranfield Papers I*, pp. 70-73.

¹⁶⁹ WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

¹⁷⁰ See Chapter 2, p. 54.

Cranfield, he probably employed few servants at this time and therefore engaged the female members of his family in the care of the household. Once he had established himself in Yorkshire and had substantially increased his revenue he could afford to employ a greater number of servants to take care of the house. On 28 May 1623 Isobel Baiok was paid 10^s housekeeping money, ‘besides bread and beare’, as well as a further 6^s on the 14 June plus 5^d ‘for Kidds to heate ye oven for browne bread.’¹⁷¹ So by this date Ingram was paying domestic servants to take care of provisions for the home rather than family members.¹⁷²

The lying-in period was one of the few times that an elite woman could command a household area, keeping men and children out and celebrating the birth with female friends and associates.¹⁷³ However, Alberti suggested that husband and wife should have separate chambers at all times so that ‘the Wife, either when she lies in, or in case of any other Indisposition, may not be troublesome to her Husband’.¹⁷⁴ The lack of inventories for Ingram’s homes means it cannot be ascertained whether Ingram and his wife had separate chambers. However, due to Ingram’s long stays in London Lady Ingram would often have a chamber to herself even if she shared it with Ingram when he was at home.¹⁷⁵ Cranfield and his wife shared a bed chamber at Chelsea, and it can be presumed that they also did so at Copt Hall, as although the inventory lists ‘my Lords

¹⁷¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/9, 28 May and 14 June 1623.

¹⁷² He was also able to pay his daughter’s cook when he was at York and for Sir Arthur the younger’s cook at Temple Newsam, WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19, 28 March 1635, 21 July 1635.

¹⁷³ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720*, p. 205.

¹⁷⁴ Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, p. 107.

¹⁷⁵ Whether or not Lady Ingram shared a bed chamber with her husband she clearly had her own study at York which suggests she commanded certain household areas, see WYASL, WYL178/4, 10 December 1622.

Chamber' there was no room ascribed to Lady Cranfield.¹⁷⁶ Lady Cranfield laid in 'very gorgeously' after the birth of her first son in November 1621, with the furnishings being specially created for the purpose by the king's upholsters, Oliver Brown and John Baker.¹⁷⁷ Among the rich furnishings was a 'cradle of crimson velvet, laced with gould lace' and bed hangings of 'crimson satten imbroadered wth cloth of gould, and cloth of silver' which compare to the hangings of white satin adorned with silver and pearl which were used in 1612 for the Countess of Salisbury's lying in.¹⁷⁸

As well as beholding the exquisite furnishings the guests expected 'lavish hospitality', an aspect that is parodied in Thomas Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (c.1613) whereby 'the women consume the stereotypically large amount of sweetmeats and wine, to the horror of the husband who mentally adds up the cost'.¹⁷⁹ Although Cranfield was keen to get a fair deal on the furnishings he bought for his wife's lying-in he spent liberally on the banqueting fare for the christening, which is discussed below.¹⁸⁰ There are no records of Lady Ingram's lying-in but it is clear she entertained in the household whilst her husband was away. In the last week of June 1638 Lady Ingram 'had a great

¹⁷⁶ LPL, MSS 1228, 1622, fol. 54; CKS U269/1 E16. All other members of the family, and even specific servants, have their own rooms listed so it is noteworthy that Lady Cranfield is not listed as having a chamber to herself, although she does have a closet.

¹⁷⁷ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 394, 10 November 1621, p. 406; Letter 399, 22 December 1621, p. 417; Town and Fryman, "Lionel Cranfield and the Furnishing of Chelsea House 1620-1625," p. 4.

¹⁷⁸ Lady Cranfield's furnishings were later recorded as being stored in the wardrobe at Chelsea, LPL, MSS 1228, 1622, fol. 56; For the countess of Salisbury's lying-in see Sasha Roberts, "'Let me the curtains draw': the dramatic and symbolic properties of the bed in Shakespearean tragedy," in *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama*, eds. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 153-174, (p. 155).

¹⁷⁹ Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720*, p. 209; Janelle Jenstad, "'Smock-Secrets': Birth and Women's Mysteries on the Early Modern Stage," in *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England*, eds. Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn Read McPherson, *Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007): 87-99, (p. 92); David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 57.

¹⁸⁰ Town and Fryman, "Lionel Cranfield and the Furnishing of Chelsea House 1620-1625," p. 4.

dinner on Munday in the great chamber' at York.¹⁸¹ Unfortunately the accounts do not state whether Lady Ingram's guests were male or female but it is tempting to think she was surrounded exclusively by female friends as she enjoyed command of the most important room in the house, in an evening reminiscent of Madame Rambouillet's gatherings in her blue chamber.

ii) Hospitality

The hospitality that Ingram and Cranfield provided can be divided into two distinct areas; the entertainment of their peers and superiors within their own home, and the help they bestowed on their inferiors. They regularly hosted parties for their friends and associates but do not appear to have been so generous when it came to providing for the local poor within their home. This was a trend that was widespread within elite households and Elizabethan and Jacobean moralists blamed 'grand banqueting' for destroying the true nature of hospitality.¹⁸² Thomas Cooper dedicated a chapter of his work *The Art of Giving* (1615), to food, believing excess of diet to be an enemy to charity, stating 'all being thought too little for our selues, euery thing is thought too much for others.'¹⁸³ Indeed, hospitality had become much more targeted and restricted by the seventeenth century, with the provision for the poor evolving from a household experience to an institutionalized process.

Cranfield was certainly guilty of indulging in the fashion for 'grand banqueting', expending £388 7^s 1^d on sweetmeats to celebrate the christening of his child at Chelsea

¹⁸¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25.

¹⁸² Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 163.

¹⁸³ Thomas Cooper, *The art of giuing Describing the true nature, and right vse of liberality: and prouing that these dayes of the gossell haue farre exceeded the former times of superstition in true charitie and magnificence*, (1615), p. 73.

on 28 December 1621.¹⁸⁴ This staggering total is put into context when compared to the £100 Cecil spent on a banquet for the royal family in May 1608.¹⁸⁵ Despite Chamberlain lauding the banquet the Duke of Buckingham held at York House in November 1623, which was attended by the king, the prince, and Spanish ambassadors, as an ‘ostentation of magnificence’, it had reportedly cost ‘three hundreth pounds’, still less than Cranfield’s Chelsea banquet.¹⁸⁶ Cranfield’s banquet, then, was clearly something to behold and he obviously wanted to impress his guests who were to attend the christening, which included Buckingham, the Duchess of Lennox, and the king himself.¹⁸⁷ Cranfield’s expenses were not without reward, however, as the king ‘gave the child a 1000^{li} land as the report goes.’¹⁸⁸ Various pastries and comfits were bought from Mistress Saule, which included items such as ‘marchpanie stuff’ and ‘naples biskett’, both of which were described in a cookery book entitled *The Queens Closet Opened*, which recorded recipes which had been used in the kitchens of Queen Henrietta-Maria’s establishment, signifying their luxury.¹⁸⁹ Cranfield clearly bought such foods for special occasions, using the same supplier two years later, ‘To Mis Saule for Bancketting stuffe for the Christning of my Ls child, £39’.¹⁹⁰ Just as French fashions, disseminated through Henrietta-Maria, had influenced the furnishing of the house, so they did with cuisine. French food was clearly to Lady Cranfield’s taste as that is the only means by which Lord Sheffield thought he would be able to persuade her to come and visit him and his wife, her daughter, at their Yorkshire home in

¹⁸⁴ LPL, MSS 1228, fols. 46-49.

¹⁸⁵ Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 29.

¹⁸⁶ *Chamberlain II*, Letter 441, 21 November 1623, p. 527.

¹⁸⁷ *Chamberlain II*, Letter 400, 4 January 1622, p. 418.

¹⁸⁸ *Chamberlain II*, Letter 400, 4 January 1622, p. 418.

¹⁸⁹ LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 47; W. M. *The Queens closet opened incomparable secrets in physick, chyrurgery, preserving, and candying &c. which were presented unto the queen / by the most experienced persons of the times, many whereof were had in esteem when she pleased to descend to private recreations*, (1659), pp. 260-2.

¹⁹⁰ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 7 August 1623.

Normanby.¹⁹¹ Sheffield stated that he would provide food from Rouen made by Nicholas Bannière, suggesting banquets in the north could be just as exotic and refined as those in the south of England.¹⁹² Ingram certainly enjoyed continental food. His servant, Mr Wade, paid out for Westphalia bacon and ‘permuzan cheese’ in 1622.¹⁹³ Ingram also provided ‘ffrench apples’ among other banqueting food for his granddaughter’s marriage to Lord Kensington in April 1641.¹⁹⁴

Although Ben Jonson, in his early seventeenth century poem *Inviting a Friend to Supper*, prides the guests above the ‘cates’, the food that was served, and the dishes on which it was presented, were just as important, as they could show the hosts’ wealth and generosity.¹⁹⁵ A clear example of this is to be found in Cranfield’s inventory of 1622 for Chelsea which included silver dishes and saucers ‘marked wth my Lords armes’, a vivid way of reminding one’s dinner guests of the status of their host.¹⁹⁶ Ingram also owned tableware which brandished his coat of arms.¹⁹⁷ In June 1639 the Earl of Sussex, then living at Gorhambury, paid 18^d for ‘two plates of glasse for sweetmeats’, suggesting that special plates were bought to display certain foods.¹⁹⁸ At Chelsea Cranfield owned ‘1 Great square frenche plate’, possibly for displaying French delicacies.¹⁹⁹ Cranfield borrowed very fine glassware from a London tavern during the years of 1623 and 1624, such as ‘venise snake Beere glasses’ and ‘Cristall Beere glasses’, presumably for when

¹⁹¹ Prestwich, pp. 517-8.

¹⁹² Prestwich, p. 518.

¹⁹³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/37.

¹⁹⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/1.

¹⁹⁵ Ben Jonson, *Inviting a Friend to Supper* (1616), lines 7-8, in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* 7th ed., 1, eds. M. H. Abrams and Stephen Greenblatt (New York: Norton, 2000), p. 1398.

¹⁹⁶ LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 60.

¹⁹⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/7.

¹⁹⁸ *Early Stuart Household Accounts*, p. 189.

¹⁹⁹ LPL, MSS 1228, fol. 61.

he was entertaining at Chelsea.²⁰⁰ He also bought glasses, paying a substantial £8 for some in May 1623.²⁰¹ Ingram also bought quality tableware, buying a salt from a Dutch goldsmith at a cost of £25 in 1636, an essential piece of tableware due to its positioning and division of people above or below the salt.²⁰² The expense spent on cutlery and other items for meals is apparent from the inclusion in Cranfield's ordinances of the order not to remove 'any silver vessell (savage plates to bee made cleane)' from the dining room without the approval of the gentleman usher, 'nor leave them in windowes, oode corners, nor other places wthin or wthout ye roome ... from whence it may bee taken, stolne, or imbesild ...',²⁰³ Ingram spent £466 14^s 2^d in just one month on tableware such as dishes, trenchers and flagons.²⁰⁴

It was not only the tableware that was finely presented, but also the food. Gervase Markham informed his readers that at a banquet 'you shall first send forth a dish made for shew onely, as Beast, bird, Fish, or Fowle, according to inuention', and the cook Robert May suggested that festival times required 'Triumphs and Trophies in Cookery', such as 'the likeness of a Ship in Paste-board ... a Stag made of course paste, with a broad Arrow in the side of him, and his body filled up with claret-wine.'²⁰⁵ Such conceits (May also advised putting powder in the cannons of the ship which were then

²⁰⁰ CKS, U269/1 T40.

²⁰¹ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156], 29 May 1623.

²⁰² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 26 April 1636.

²⁰³ LPL, MSS 3361, fol. 10.

²⁰⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/7, 5 November until 7 December 1631.

²⁰⁵ Gervase Markham, *Countrey contentments, or The English husvife Containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman. As her skill in physicke, surgerie, extraction of oyles, banqueting-stuffe, ordering of great feasts, preseruing of all sorts of wines, conceited secrets, distillations, perfumes, ordering of wooll, hempe, flax, making cloth, dying, the knowledge of dayries, office of malting, oats, their excellent vses in a family, brewing, baking, and all other things belonging to an houshold. A worke generally approued, and now much augmented, purged and made most profitable and necessarie for all men, and dedicated to the honour of the noble house of Exceter, and the generall good of this kingdome*, (1623 ed.), p. 125; Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook, or the Art and Mystery of Cookery*, (1685), eds. Alan Davidson, Marcus Bell and Tom Jaine (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1994).

blown up) clearly highlighted the important role food played in entertainment, and how, like many aspects of image-building in the first half of the seventeenth century, it was as much about show as it was about substance.

Vast amounts of food were often required when guests were staying at the house as it was not only the guest who required feeding, but also his retinue. For example, when the second Earl of Salisbury played host to the Lord Chamberlain from Monday to Friday in the week beginning the 11 October 1634, he had also to accommodate his six gentlemen and pages, four falconers, eight grooms and footmen, and seven under servants.²⁰⁶ Ingram made sure he had sufficient supplies when entertaining Lord Cottington in May 1636, ordering a substantial 150 great asparaguses.²⁰⁷ A month later he invited Sir George Radcliffe, who consumed wine and sweetmeats from St Bartholomew's.²⁰⁸ Many entries in Ingram's London accounts record money paid 'for wine noone and night', suggesting luxury items such as wine were not just enjoyed on special occasions, but on a regular basis.²⁰⁹ He bought wine from the Pope's Head from Ralph King, often ordering Canary wine, the most popular among the elite.²¹⁰ He also regularly bought artichokes, which he sent to York, even though they were available in Yorkshire at this time, which may suggest that they were of the Jerusalem rather than the Globe variety, as Jerusalem artichokes were only just appearing in London at this time and were not yet being tithed in Yorkshire.²¹¹ Ingram regularly paid for vegetables and fruit, suggesting he did not cultivate a great deal of edible produce within his

²⁰⁶ *Early Stuart Household Accounts*, p. 11.

²⁰⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

²⁰⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

²⁰⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 24 January 1635.

²¹⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/8.

²¹¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; Thirsk, "England's Provinces: Did They Serve or Drive Material London?" p. 98; Edward Radcliffe, sixth Earl of Sussex, also ordered large quantities of artichokes which he had sent to his country house, Gorhambury, in 1638, see *Early Stuart Household Accounts*, p. 171.

gardens.²¹² Although Cranfield clearly grew a wide variety of fruit at his country estates, mainly Pishiobury, few vegetables and herbs were produced at his Chelsea home as Morgan Colman stated that ‘The kitchen garden is of no use’.²¹³ The neglect of the kitchen garden led to unnecessary expense, as buying, rather than growing, vegetables was obviously more expensive.

Expense, however, did not seem to be a problem for Cranfield when he lived at Chelsea. In 1621 the caterers at Chelsea normally spent around £20 a week on food from May until October, but after that prices began to rise, no doubt due to the fact that on Sunday 30 September ‘My Lord came home before Supper: Lo Highe Treasurer of England.’²¹⁴ For the week beginning Monday 8 October £31 9^s 5^d was spent, the cost reflecting the fact that ‘This week there was many strangers above and belowe the staires.’²¹⁵ By December, with provisions for Christmas entertainment being bought, and the Christening of Cranfield’s son on the 27 December, costs had almost doubled, being on average £59 a week.²¹⁶ This was nothing, however, to the costs of the following Christmas when the ‘Clerk of the Kitchen’, Richard Griffin, received £114 12^s 3^d for the week ending 12 December 1622.²¹⁷ This largess is exemplified by the fact that for the whole year of 1635 at Milcote, only £45 18^s 11^d was spent on household provisions, whilst Lord William Howard, in London for a month between November and December 1623, only spent £37 10^s on food.²¹⁸ Ingram’s household accounts for York reveal that whilst he was at home, during the months of July and August 1634, between £16 and

²¹² See Chapter 7, p. 419.

²¹³ CKS, U269/1 F6. For Cranfield’s cultivation of fruit see Chapter 7, pp. 417-8.

²¹⁴ CKS, U269 A400.

²¹⁵ CKS, U269 A400.

²¹⁶ CKS, U269 A400.

²¹⁷ CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8098].

²¹⁸ CKS U269 A420/1; Ornsby, “Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle,” p. 207.

£23 a week was disbursed for provisions, matching Cranfield's expenses at Chelsea before he rose to Lord Treasurer.²¹⁹ Between January and April of that year the household costs at York were slightly lower, between £9 and £15 per week, as only Lady Ingram was in residence, Sir Arthur being in London. At the end of April Lady Ingram went to join her husband in London for just under three months, which left the household expenses at a mere £2-£3 per week.²²⁰ In October 1636 Ingram entertained the 'lord maior & his bretheren & after the Ireish lordes', which raised household expenses for that week to £26 2^d.²²¹ Similarly in the last week of March 1637 the household expenses were higher than normal, at £26 15^s 8^d, as it was Assize week and the judges feasted at Ingram's York residence.²²²

Extra provisions were frantically sought by Ingram's servants for the king's visit in the autumn of 1641, Matteson informed Ingram that '[f]or salmon I hope William Lee will supply every week, and like for partridge, either from York, Jackson or Ellwick, and if them from York be not good I am very sorry, for sum they have meat enough, and if those wild creatures will still not feed I cannot tell how to help it'.²²³ King Charles had chosen Ingram's house in York over the King's Manor as a place of residence when he stayed over in the city on his way back from Scotland in November 1641.²²⁴ Matteson need not have worried about the hospitality the king received, as on 26 November 1641 Ingram received a letter from Dr Hodson reporting that the king thoroughly enjoyed his stay at Ingram's house and that 'his Maties entertainment at yor house was carried

²¹⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19.

²²⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19.

²²¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/23.

²²² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/23.

²²³ WYASL, WYL178/5, 12 November 1641.

²²⁴ Allinson, "The King's Manor," p. 530.

with soe much bounty and good order'.²²⁵ Two years earlier, during Charles' visit to York in April 1639, Ingram did not provide accommodation for the monarch himself, but he did host many of the king's aides. Edward Norgate reported that Ingram 'lodges and feeds the Lord General, the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, Sec. Coke, with many others; and for commanders and gallants of the short robe, his house is the only rendezvous.'²²⁶ For this Ingram borrowed pewter from Thomas Stables which included forty-eight chargers, forty-eight platters, and twenty-four dishes, as well as borrowing eighteen case knives from the cutler Mr Colman.²²⁷ It is also possible that Ingram entertained Charles' father in Yorkshire, when James stopped in York on his way to Scotland in 1617. William Combe wrote in his *History and Antiquities of York* that on Monday 14 August King James rode to Sheriff Hutton Park, although he does not give any further details.²²⁸ However, it is hard to say whether the king stayed with Ingram, and the fact that Ingram was only just beginning to build New Lodge at this time suggests he may have simply gone to the park to go hunting. During his stay in York James stayed at the King's Manor, but, unlike his son, would not have had the option of staying at Ingram's York Palace as it was not yet built. James was entertained by Ingram in London, however. On 23 June 1614 Ingram's son Thomas was christened, and guests on this occasion included the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Somerset, the Countess of Nottingham, and also 'the king in person came into the garden to eat cherries and part of the banquet.'²²⁹

²²⁵ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/II/2.

²²⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I, 1639*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton, (London: Longman, 1873), vol. 417, no. 107, pp. 47-8, 16 April 1639.

²²⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/7; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30, 6 May 1639.

²²⁸ W. Combe, *The History and Antiquities of York*, (1785), I, p. 257; Upton, p. 152.

²²⁹ *Chamberlain I*, Letter 207 to Alice Carleton, 30 June 1614, p. 545.

The guests that Ingram hosted on a more regular basis at his northern properties were county gentry and figures associated with the Council of the North. On 18 August 1621, Jack Nolson wrote to John Matteson at Armin to tell him of all the entertainment that was happening. Lord Gray has been ‘verie noblely entertained; strangers wee have a great many to morrow, and a great feast is to be made at Sheriffhutzen upon Tewisday next for the Ls president and the ladyes, besides the expectants of the lo: clifford & Sr Tho Wentworth on monday at night next.’²³⁰ Although these were all eminent men of great standing in the local community, they were not quite up to the standard of guest that Cranfield was entertaining in this period, with Buckingham coming to ‘Wiston, & there to be very merry,’ in 1622.²³¹ At his house in Chelsea in 1622 he also ‘supped’ with the king on May Day, and entertained high officials such as Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer.²³²

Cranfield’s generous hospitality was immortalised in John Taylor’s poem ‘Copt Hall an Emblem is of Happiness’, where one ‘may finde this Pallace faire / Whose Bownty’s more then manners can desire.’²³³ Cranfield was described by Taylor as amplifying the stately building ‘wth good howskeeping, & wth plenteous fare.’²³⁴ Taylor’s words were certainly based on fact, as demonstrated by the expense Cranfield spent on ‘plenteous fare’ and the strict rules he imposed on his household in Chelsea, both of which were obviously imitated at Copt Hall. Taylor also remarked upon Ingram’s generous hospitality in the north, with whom he ‘dined, and also had some other token of his love

²³⁰ WYASL, WYL100/C/1, 118.

²³¹ CKS, U269/1 CP2 [ON15], 4 August 1622.

²³² *Chamberlain II*, Letter 407, 11 May 1622, p. 436; LPL, MSS 1228, fols. 11, 17, 38, 74.

²³³ Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, p. 205.

²³⁴ Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet*, p. 205.

and bounty' when in York in 1639.²³⁵ Heal notes that Taylor received much better hospitality in the north than in the south, and that 'only in Yorkshire ... did he really have good fortune.'²³⁶ Heal goes on to comment that the further from London one went the more entertainment and hospitality one expected, and that this was mainly borne out in practice, with the north being particularly accommodating, seeing themselves as upholding traditional values in offering free entertainment and willing to welcome visitors to hear news.²³⁷ McGee also recognised that Wales and areas in the north 'were probably more closely committed to open hospitality than the south-east because of their physical isolation and distinctive cultural traditions.'²³⁸ Ingram certainly conformed to this ideal of generosity, providing 'free and generous entertainment Christmas-like,' but his activities in the City meant that he was not desperate for news and willing to trade entertainment for gossip, nor was he of the established gentry anxious to uphold traditional bounty.²³⁹ His reason for accommodating guests was no doubt to consolidate the image he had built up as a wealthy individual who was able to compete within elite circles, and one way of showing this was to be able to afford to provide hospitality to any visitors. Visitors who received hospitality from Sir Arthur obviously talked about their experiences (or wrote about them) and this would further improve Ingram's reputation. He also projected his bounteous reputation on top of his house at Temple Newsam, stating that 'Health and Plenty be within this house' (Figure 42).

²³⁵ John Taylor, *Part of this summers travels, or News from hell, Hull, and Hallifax, from York, Linne, Leicester, Chester, Coventry, Lichfield, Nottingham, and the Divells Ars a peake With many pleasant passages, worthy your observation and reading*, (1639), p. 21.

²³⁶ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 212.

²³⁷ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 216.

²³⁸ J. S. McGee, *The Godly Man in Stuart England: Anglicans, Puritans, and the two tables, 1620-1670* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 91.

²³⁹ David and Mary Palliser, *York as they saw it – from Alcuin to Lord Esher*, p. 17.

Other members of the northern gentry were also bounteous, such as Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby who stated that his table ‘was ever fitt to receyve 3 or 4 beside my famuly, with out any troble: and what ever their fayre was they were sure to have a hearty welcome.’²⁴⁰ Of course there were always some exceptions to the rule and William Eure, son of Ralph Lord Eure of Malton, found just that when he stayed at the Yorkshire home of Sir Thomas Hoby in 1600. Sir Thomas was not there to bid his guests welcome but came to them later, when he then gave them a cold welcome, after dinner he left his guests to play cards by themselves and find their own chambers, and in the morning left them to breakfast alone.²⁴¹ All these actions were against the nature of hospitality which was described by Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, to his son as ‘entertayning all comers, conducting there guests to there chambers; carefull of there breakfasts, keeping them company at card,’ all of which Sir Thomas Hoby failed to do.²⁴² Consequently, William Eure found Sir Thomas’ actions as ‘not answerable to our northern entertainments’, which again implies that hospitality in the north was usually of a high standard.²⁴³

As well as providing good entertainment to one’s peers, hospitality to the poor could help parvenus such as Ingram and Cranfield legitimise themselves as members of the elite who had enough wealth to bestow on their inferiors. In this sense, hospitality was hierarchical and served to distinguish the rich from the poor, further affirming Ingram and Cranfield’s elevated positions within society. Heal argues that this hierarchy is most

²⁴⁰ *The Memoirs and Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, 1600-1657*, ed. Jack Binns, *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* 153 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), p. 96.

²⁴¹ *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Most Honourable, The Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., & C. Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, HMC, ser. 9 part 11 (1906), pp. 11-12.

²⁴² “Instructions by Henry Percy, 9th earl of Northumberland, to his son,” ed., James Heywood Markland, *Archaeologia: Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 27 (1838): 306-358, (p. 341).

²⁴³ *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Most Honourable, The Marquis of Salisbury*, HMC, ser. 9 part 11, p. 11.

visible in the form of the dole as the poor, unlike estate workers who can offer boon work, had no means to reciprocate.²⁴⁴ Cranfield's ordinances for Chelsea state that the yeoman usher of the hall must 'cause ye groome, or almner, to save all ye broken meate, bread, and beere wholly for ye poore, wch hee must cause to bee geven to ye poore at ye gate, once a daie, wth ye porters helpe.'²⁴⁵ This food was to be gathered up by the groom of the great chamber, 'as hee finds it under thee boord, or in any place.'²⁴⁶ The true reason for Cranfield's hospitality to the poor, may not simply have been selfless generosity, but due to its visible nature was another way of portraying both his power and wealth, as Heal noted that hospitality often involved a 'rational calculation of self-interest.'²⁴⁷

In Yorkshire Sir Hugh Cholmley was keen to keep the tradition of the dole alive and he recorded that at Whitby House '[t]wice a weeke a certaine number of old people widdowes or indigent persons were served at my gates with bread and gud pottage mad of beefe which I mention that those who succede may follow the example.'²⁴⁸ When Ingram was in York in March 1638, he paid for a 'barrell of white herrens for the poore at doore and some for house.'²⁴⁹ Although it is clear Ingram gave food at the door to the poor, this isolated experience suggests he did not regularly dole out food, and the ambiguous wording of the account means it cannot be ascertained whether he fed poor people within his home. '[S]ome for the house' may mean some of the herrings were saved to feed some poor within the house, but it is most likely that the remainder of the herrings were for feeding the actual household itself. Ingram, and Cranfield, then,

²⁴⁴ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 174.

²⁴⁵ LPL, MSS 3361, fol. 32.

²⁴⁶ LPL, MSS 3361, fol. 23.

²⁴⁷ Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 20.

²⁴⁸ *The Memoirs and Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, 1600-1657*, p. 96.

²⁴⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25.

clearly gave generously to the poor but it was never within their own home, the door or the gate acting as a boundary distinguishing them from the needy.

The provision of hospitality to the poor within the household began to diminish in the Elizabethan period as a desire by the elite for privacy, and the freedom to choose one's dinner guests, became evident in the architectural design of the house. It has been noted by countless historians that the demise of the great hall as a communal eating space was often reflected in rebuilding, in particular the sealing over the hall (or parlour) to provide a chamber above for more intimate dining.²⁵⁰ In the larger houses alternative dining spaces were available without the need to adapt the hall space, but other changes, such as the influence of classical design also had consequences for hospitality. Sir Henry Wotton, who in his influential book *Elements of Architecture*, championed the Italian style of building did not, however, like the way serving rooms were relegated to the basement as 'by the natural hospitality of England, the Buttery must be more visible; and we need perchance for our Ranges, a more spacious and luminous kitchen.'²⁵¹ So it seems even the architects prescribing how to build homes did not like some of the social changes that were appearing with this new way of living.

Along with the gentry's desire for greater privacy their migration to London had a damaging effect on hospitality towards the poor. James issued various proclamations on the subject, ordering the gentry to return to their estates.²⁵² Although the draw of the

²⁵⁰ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 103-4; Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, p. 18; Platt, *The Great Rebuildings*, p. 77.

²⁵¹ Wotton, *Elements of Architecture*, p. 71; see Chapter 4, p. 210.

²⁵² *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Volume I Royal Proclamations of King James I 1603-1625*, Proclamations: 11, 29 May 1603, p. 21; 23, 29 July 1603, pp. 44-5; 143, 24 October 1614, pp. 323-4; 158, 9 December 1615, pp. 356-8; 235, 20 November 1622, pp. 561-2; 241, 26 March 1623, pp. 572-574.

metropolis with its fine array of luxury goods on offer has often been cited as the main motive for the absence of the gentry from their country estates, it has also been noted that the gentry were keen to remove to London ‘to save the charges of housekeeping in the country’.²⁵³ One of James’ later proclamations supports this notion as it is revealed that to avoid punishment for shirking their duties to their country estates a significant number of people, rather than simply return home, were ‘retiring for a time unto some places in or neare the said Cities, where they secretly sojourne’.²⁵⁴ This suggests that it was more a case of avoiding their duties in the country rather than a desire to be in London for its attractions that was primarily the cause of this movement.

Although Ingram was not a native of Yorkshire he still had many obligations to the county, most notably his position on the Council of the North which required his input on important decisions regarding the government of the region. When Ingram was in London his brother William, then after his death in 1623 Sir Arthur’s eldest son, took his place on the council.²⁵⁵ Ingram spent significant periods of time in London and was often delayed in returning to the north, ‘I cannot by reason of my many great business come down as soon as I made account to have done.’²⁵⁶ Whilst he was in the capital he would not be able to provide extensive hospitality to the poor, yet, it has already been stated that even when he was resident in York he did not often provide hospitality to the poor within his own home. His estates at Temple Newsam and Sheriff Hutton were occupied by his sons once they were of age and therefore these estates may have been

²⁵³ Fisher, “London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption,” p. 44.

²⁵⁴ *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Volume I Royal Proclamations of King James I 1603-1625*, Proclamation 241, 26 March 1623, p. 573.

²⁵⁵ Upton, p. 162.

²⁵⁶ WYASL, WYL178/4, 8 September 1624; a similar letter survives from Edmund Lord Sheffield, dated 24 February 1609, to Sir Thomas Fairfax asking him to sit for him as vice-president on the Council of the North as he was ‘deteyned heare [London] aboute the businesse of that Gov^{mt}’, NYCRO, ZDV(F), Mic. 1189/1501.

more likely to provide regular respite for the poor, with Sir Arthur Ingram the younger and Sir Thomas Ingram spending less time in the capital than their father. On the other hand, Ingram regularly gave money (rather than food) directly to the poor, and he was often very generous. One example from July 1638, when Ingram was simply going from his residence at York to see his son Thomas at Sheriff Hutton, records that he paid money to the poor at his own door at York, more to the poor on way to Sheriff Hutton, and then subsequently laid out more to the poor at the door at Sheriff Hutton, expending in total 2^s 9^d.²⁵⁷ Of course, none of this could happen when he was resident in London. So Ingram's charity towards the poor in Yorkshire was affected by his time in London as he was not physically present to hand out money personally to the poor he encountered. He was still able to support the poor, however, from London due to his philanthropic acts such as establishing the almshouse in Bootham whereby the poor widows resident there received daily respite without the need of Sir Arthur's presence.

iii) Philanthropy

The constant need of the poor to be sustained had not changed from the medieval period. The way of sustaining them, however, had undergone significant changes in the early modern period. Several poor laws were passed during Elizabeth's reign which highlighted the need for effective poor relief, and the final act of 1601 made poverty a national, rather than simply a parish, responsibility. Charity became institutionalized with establishments such as almshouses and work houses being set up to take care of the poor, or rather the 'deserving poor', the undeserving poor, namely rogues and vagabonds, were punished rather than aided. Heal points out that some Protestants believed that hospitality should be given by specifically appointed people, like an

²⁵⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25.

almoner, rather than leaving hospitality up to the individual, as it could often be hard for individual householders to discriminate between the deserving and undeserving poor.²⁵⁸ Cranfield, who gave directly to the poor in the form of the dole distributed from his household at Chelsea, recognised the importance of distinguishing between the different types of poor, his ordinances recording that the parish poor were to receive beef and broth as well as the bread, beer and broken meat which the poor at the gate received. The parish poor were to be fed ‘at a certaine howre, in some appointed place’ separating their needs from the poor who came to the gate.²⁵⁹ At Copt Hall he relinquished the responsibility of determining the worthiness of the poor by paying a yearly amount (only £1) to ‘ye overseer for ye poore of Waltham parish.’²⁶⁰ Ingram, it appears, may have had difficulty in distinguishing between the deserving and undeserving poor as, already noted in Chapter 2, he gave 10^s ‘to a poore scholler thatt made verses upon my ladie Bennitt’ in June 1636, despite the fact many of these so-called ‘scholars’ were enterprising vagrants.²⁶¹ He also gave 2^s 6^d to ‘a woeman yt brought a begging letter’, suggesting he could be easily moved by words.²⁶²

Sir Arthur’s grandest philanthropic act was the establishment of an almshouse in Bootham, York. The almshouse provided lodging for ten poor widows, along with £5 each per annum and a new gown every three years.²⁶³ Ingram also provided the widows with the opportunity to increase their income by spinning hemp, for which they received

²⁵⁸ Felicity Heal, “The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England,” *Past and Present* 102 (Feb 1984): 66-93, (p. 83).

²⁵⁹ LPL, MSS 3361, fol. 32.

²⁶⁰ CKS, U269 A433, 26 January 1638. The annual payment of £1 to the poor of Waltham parish was quite a paltry sum considering in a draft will Cranfield drew up in March 1600 he left 100 marks to the poor to be distributed in 2 shillings worth of bread every Sunday within the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, where he resided at that time, *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 31.

²⁶¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 217.

²⁶² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 3 June 1635.

²⁶³ WYASL, WYL100/F/16/1, 1640.

7^d per twenty-one lea of yarn.²⁶⁴ Ingram's involvement with the residents of the almshouses appears quite detached as no records survive of his interaction with them on a personal level. This contrasts with the acts of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury 1583-1604, who often dined with the inhabitants of the almshouse he founded in Croydon in 1595, and with William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who set down in his ordinances relating to the almshouse he founded in Stamford in the late sixteenth century, that the residents should dine at Burghley House every quarter on the first Sunday.²⁶⁵ This suggests that Ingram's foundation of the almshouse was not solely motivated by charitable impulse but by a desire to improve his reputation and public image. Although Cranfield did not establish his own almshouse, he did give generously to other institutions; in January 1609 he paid £37 'for one yeare' to Mr Huggleworth's almshouse, suggesting he paid annually, whilst in July 1609 he paid £10 to John Parrot 'in part of orphinage monyes'.²⁶⁶ A note drawn up by Cranfield himself of his finances, including debts he owed, listed 'To the Orphans of Wm Duncomb about 1500-00-00', which implies that later in his career he had more money to give to orphanages but that his intentions may have been greater than the ready money he had available.²⁶⁷

Both Ingram and Cranfield were charitable towards prisoners. Ingram gave oatmeal to the prisoners of York Castle every week.²⁶⁸ Cranfield was particularly generous to the prisoners of Wood Street Compter and Poultry Compter, who received 3^s per week for

²⁶⁴ Gilbert, "Ingram's Almshouse," pp. 32-3; Hemp was delivered from Hull for the poor folk of the hospital, WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/15, 1631-3. The *OED* defines a lea as 'a measure of yarn of varying quantity.'

²⁶⁵ Howard, *The Building of Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, pp. 138-9, 144-6.

²⁶⁶ CKS, U269/1 AB2 [ON3479]; *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 116.

²⁶⁷ TNA, SP14/170, fol. 124, the document is undated but can be estimated as being written in 1624 as Cranfield also noted that he owed the Earl of Somerset £3700 for Wiston, and as Chapter 3, p. 164, explains, this was roughly the amount that remained to be paid to Somerset at this time.

²⁶⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/20.

their ‘reliefes and succor’, with accounts recording payment for a period of at least eight years.²⁶⁹ In April 1623 Cranfield gave £7 10^s to the prisoners of 15 prisons and although these prisons are not named they more than likely included some of the prisons noted as receiving funds from Cranfield six years later, examples of which were ‘Kings Benche Common gaolle’, the common jail of the White Lion, and the jail at Ludgate.²⁷⁰ As stated in Chapter 1, Cranfield also paid money to specific prisoners, such as Peter Frobisher, who was in Wood Street Compter for debt, partly caused by Cranfield in the first place.²⁷¹

Giving to the local poor, whether it be prisoners, orphans, or the elderly, was a good way of attaining a good reputation within the region and also helped to maintain social standing. Newcomers to a parish could gain admiration through philanthropy, an example being Ralph Cole who bought Brancepeth Castle in 1636 and a couple of years later was praised by William Milbourne for his ‘liberalitie to the poore’ giving 20^s at Christmas and the same at Easter.²⁷² Ingram’s reputation within the city of York was clearly boosted by his charitable acts, with his almshouse standing as a constant reminder of his generosity, and consequently his wealth. Similarly, Cranfield’s donations to charities, although mainly within London, would mark him out as a man of high standing and considerable means. Ingram and Cranfield’s benevolence also distinguished them as men of ‘virtue’, despite what some of their contemporaries may have thought.

²⁶⁹ CKS U269 A510, March 1621 – April 1629.

²⁷⁰ CKS, U269/1 AP43 [ON8156]; CKS U269 A510, 4 April 1629.

²⁷¹ CKS, U269/1 T33, 1610-11.

²⁷² “The Correspondence of John Cosin D. D, Lord Bishop of Durham: Together with other papers illustrative of his life and times, part 1,” ed., G. Ornsby, *Surtees Society* 52 (1869), p. 222; Ralph Cole had risen from humble origins to become Mayor of Newcastle in 1633, see Newton, *North-East England, 1569-1625*, p. 36.

Conclusions

Trinculo, in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, neatly summed up early seventeenth century elite attitudes to consumption and hospitality, stating that English men 'will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, [but] they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian.'²⁷³ That hospitality was declining and consumption, including the purchase of foreign rarities such as were displayed in the *Wunderkammer* of Sir Walter Cope and the Earl of Arundel, was increasing in the early seventeenth century is hard to deny. However, English men would certainly still give a 'doit' to help the poor, but they often did this through institutions rather than personally. Cranfield and Ingram regularly gave to the poor, albeit in a way that clearly distinguished themselves from the needy, using physical barriers such as the gate or door to the house as a means of segregation. Bryson has stated that the decline of hospitality may also be seen in the development of conduct literature, the texts of the fifteenth century focusing almost exclusively on table manners and the provision of hospitality, whilst later writers discussed a wide range of more self-serving areas such as education, dress, and bodily hygiene and control.²⁷⁴ Hospitality, or rather philanthropy, was also 'self-serving' though as it provided parvenus such as Ingram and Cranfield with a means of projecting their wealth, social standing and virtue to the rest of society.

The furnishing of their homes was reserved for the eyes of their peers and superiors, the people they were keenest to impress. Ingram and Cranfield's large scale refurbishment of their homes as they attained status and position expressed their desire to compete with the leading courtiers of the day. Peck comments that material goods were not

²⁷³ William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, (c.1611), ed. Anne Barton, The New Penguin Shakespeare, (London: Penguin, 1996), p. 96, Act 2, Scene 2, Lines 31-2.

²⁷⁴ Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility*, p. 27.

acquired merely for the item itself but for the ‘cultural messages’ embedded within them, and she goes on to argue that luxury objects not only helped to achieve status but to ‘shape identities.’²⁷⁵ Certainly, particular goods like paintings and hangings could reveal aspects of the patron’s identity, specifically their religious outlooks. Both Ingram and Cranfield displayed biblical scenes within their homes which were representative of their religious sympathies, either by where they were hung within the house or whether the religious narratives depicted were drawn from the Old or New Testament. It was not only the gentlemen’s faith that was exhibited but also their desire to keep abreast with current tastes in art collection. In fact, Cranfield’s pictures in particular may divulge more about his desire to emulate the collections of leading courtiers and the monarch himself, many of which subscribed to Arminian ideology. Indeed, at Copt Hall Cranfield even owned ‘1 peece of the passion yt is the Kings’.²⁷⁶

In terms of regionality it is clear that location had a greater effect on hospitality than it did on the acquisition of material goods. Although James’ proclamations highlighted the decline of hospitality in the provinces due to the gentry’s migration to London, the northern regions received greater praise than southern regions, and Ingram himself was commended for his generous spirit on more than one occasion. However, Cranfield also ingratiated himself to many visitors to his southern properties. Although one of the reasons cited for the northern people’s bounteous nature was to receive news from afar, they were not as isolated as is often perceived. The northern gentry regularly made journeys to London, and if they refrained from visiting the capital it did not mean that they did not purchase goods from it. They could send agents or accost friends to acquire luxury items for them. Consumers in the provinces did not see London as their only

²⁷⁵ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 113.

²⁷⁶ CKS, U269/1 E16.

option for the purchase of specialized goods, however, and could buy specific items within their own regions as industries were established where the raw materials were and they were obviously not all in London.

Gardens and grounds

*Luxurious man, to bring his vice in use,
Did after him the world seduce:
And from the fields the flowers and plants allure,
Where nature was most plain and pure.¹*

In his poem ‘The Mower against the Garden’ (c.1650s), Andrew Marvel expressed contempt for the ‘luxurious man’ who spent vast amounts of money on rare plants and flowers, statues, and hydraulics, and used his garden not simply as a place of retreat and recreation but as a means of displaying his wealth and status. Like architecture, gardens were a useful tool for projecting one’s social standing and Cranfield and Ingram utilized their grounds, just as they did their houses, to consolidate their place within society. Marvel also criticised the taming and ordering of nature to create an artificial landscape; a process which was advocated in manuals such as Gervase Markham’s *The English Husbandman* (1613) and William Lawson’s *A New Orchard and Garden* (1618). This ‘ordering’ not only produced an aesthetically pleasing and profitable estate but also helped uphold the status quo, with many garden writers affiliating horticultural control with societal order.² Playwrights also used the garden as a metaphor for order and government; the gardener in Shakespeare’s *Richard II* wished the king had ‘trimmed and dressed his land / As we this garden!’ which would have prevented Bolingbroke’s usurpation of the crown and consequently the disorder of the nation.³ The people of

¹ Andrew Marvell, “The Mower against Gardens,” (c. 1650s) *The Oxford Anthology of Great English Poetry*, ed. John Wain, (London: BCA, 1996), I, p. 385, lines 1-4.

² Jill Francis, “Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558 – c.1630,” *Garden History* 36:1 (Summer 2008): 22-35.

³ William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, (c.1597), in *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*,

Elizabethan and Jacobean England were therefore clearly aware of the association of hierarchical order and the tending of one's estate. The elite, then, could confirm their position within society through the layout of their grounds and the features within them.

7.1 Planning

Imposing order on nature established the garden as an art form, and the 'Art versus Nature' debate is a key concept in both gardening treatises of the period and the rising number of studies on garden history since Roy Strong's seminal work *The Renaissance Garden in England*, (1979).⁴ Dixon Hunt classes the garden as an 'exceptional art form' due to its combination of artificial and natural elements, and it was clearly recognised at the time that both art and nature were constituent parts of the ideal garden.⁵ This is expressed in the comment made by one of three military gentlemen from Norwich, who visited Ingram's York residence in 1634, who believed the gardens to be 'so pleasant, to all the senses, as Nature and Art can make it.'⁶ Even Sir Henry Wotton admitted that although he thought gardens should be natural, they may need a little artistic intervention, '[f]irst, I must note a certaine contrarietie betweene *building* and *gardening*: For as *Fabriques* should bee *regular*, so *Gardens* should bee *irregular*, or at least cast into a very wilde *Regularitie*.'⁷

As gardens began not only to be tended, but designed, they became as much the architect's domain as the gardener's. It was during the late sixteenth and early

2nd ed., eds., John Jowett, William Montgomery, Gary Taylor and Stanley Wells, *The Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005): 339-367, (p. 358), Act 3, Scene 4, lines 57-8.

⁴ Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

⁵ John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1986), p. 6; William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, (1618), (London: Cresset Press, 1927), p. 63.

⁶ David and Mary Palliser, *York as they saw it – from Alcuin to Lord Esher*, p. 16.

⁷ Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, p. 109.

seventeenth centuries that the house and garden began to be viewed as one complete unit rather than separate entities.⁸ Although archaeologists have previously argued that medieval estates were ‘designed’ with both the house and garden taken into consideration, recent research has suggested that this may not be the case and, in fact, medieval gardens although ‘planned’ were not conceived in terms of an aesthetic unity, as Elizabethan and Jacobean grounds began to be, but were more concerned with production and the display of status.⁹ Evidence for the increasing importance of the artistic properties of elite gardens rather than their practical purposes, and therefore the consignment of authority to the architect, is clearly expressed in the increasing number of garden plans drawn by the architects that worked on the corresponding houses, one noteworthy example being the Smythsons’ designs for the gardens at Wollaton Hall in Nottinghamshire.¹⁰ Both Robert Smythson’s design of the 1590s and his son John’s remodelling in 1618 show a desire to align the house and garden axially using a geometrical layout; with the latter plan going even further by incorporating a mount; that is a (albeit simplified) replica of the shape of the house, lucidly representing the distinct connection between building and garden.¹¹ The practice of unifying house and garden had not yet been adopted throughout England, as Robert Smythson’s observations of various southern gardens show. Smythson’s observation of Lord Bedford’s grounds at Twickenham in 1609 reveal a garden situated to the side of the house, which although exquisitely designed, bore no relation to the building it

⁸ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 10.

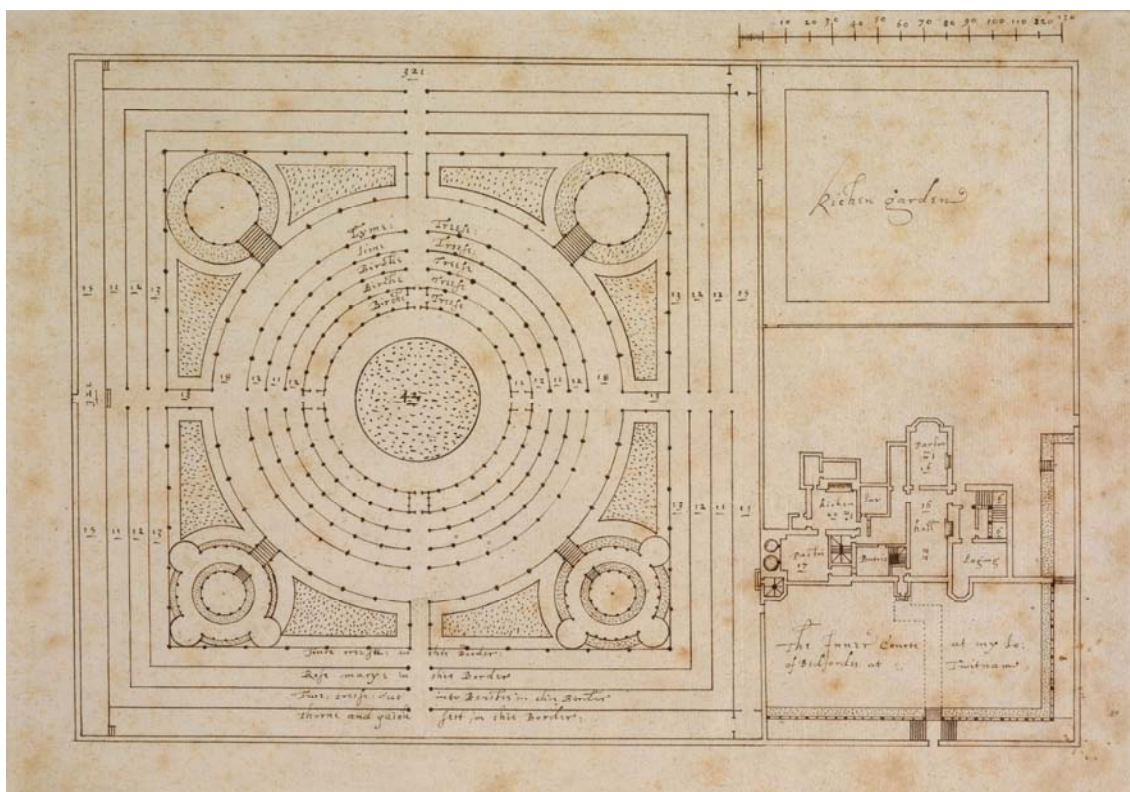
⁹ Robert Liddiard and Tom Williamson, “There by Design? Some Reflections on Medieval Elite Landscapes,” *Archaeological Journal* 165 (2008): 520-535.

¹⁰ Pete Smith, “The Sundial Garden and House-Plan Mount: Two Gardens at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, by Robert (c. 1535-1614) and John (- 1634) Smythson,” *Garden History* 31:1 (Spring, 2003): 1-28; John Thorpe’s plan for Sir William Rigdon’s house at Dowsby is also concerned with the symmetrical relationship between the house and garden, himself writing on the plan that ‘nothing [should be] out of square,’ Paula Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 23-4.

¹¹ Smith, “The Sundial Garden and House-Plan Mount,” p. 12.

surrounded. The pathways were not aligned with the entrances to the house and although the garden itself was symmetrical there was no such unity to the whole estate (Figure 92).

Figure 92: Survey drawing of Lord Bedford's house and garden at Twickenham by Robert Smythson, c. 1609



To best achieve a unified estate one had to build a new house which could be designed at the same time as the grounds in which it was to be set. This was obviously impractical for many of the elite who inherited or purchased houses which were already standing, and to demolish these residences would not only be ruthless but the expense of building again from scratch was often not a feasible option. Parkinson recognised this problem, realising that ‘many men must be content with any plat of ground [...] because

a more large or convenient cannot be had to their habitation.’¹² That this concept of unification was newly emerging in England is supported not only in visual evidence, but also in commentaries of the period; neither Bacon nor Wotton mention the relationship between the house and garden, but treat them as separate arenas.¹³ Architectural historians have often followed Bacon and Wotton’s approach but recently architectural and garden historians have noted the importance of studying both house and garden as a whole rather than in isolation.¹⁴ Features such as loggias and banqueting houses, studied both by architectural and garden historians, are reason themselves for a holistic approach, which is adopted in this study.

According to Strong it was not until the 1620s that the house and garden were seen as one single unit in architectural terms. It is Sir John Danvers’ gardens which Strong pinpoints as initiating this trend, which spread to elite estates across the country in the 1630s, and he names Temple Newsam as one of the principal followers.¹⁵ One of Danvers’ houses was at Chelsea, next door to Cranfield’s home, and although Danvers’ house cannot be seen on Kip’s view of Beaufort House (it is just off the bottom right corner) the gardens are clearly visible and are almost identical to the gardens of Cranfield’s former home (Figure 34). Although Kip’s view of Beaufort House was composed in 1708, it is likely that it shows the gardens as they were during Cranfield’s occupation of the residence. The indenture recording Cranfield’s purchase of the house in 1620 gives a detailed description of the layout of the grounds which matches almost perfectly with Kip’s representation of the property and its environs. The garden of Sir

¹² John Parkinson, *Paridisi in Sole Paridius Terrestris*, (1629), p. 3. I thank Jill Francis for bringing this to my attention.

¹³ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 135.

¹⁴ Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 1.

¹⁵ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 10.

John Danvers is noted to the east of Chelsea House and in relation to this, ‘a tarras on the northend thereof wthe a banquetting howse at the east end of the said tarras’, which can clearly be seen on Kip’s view.¹⁶ The banquetting house which can be seen in Kip’s view is very similar in style and form to a sketch of a summer house at Chelsea and was probably drawn either during Robert Smythson’s visit to London in 1609, or John Smythson’s sojourn to the capital between 1618 and 1619 (Figure 93). Either of these dates would correlate with the fact that the building is mentioned in the 1620 indenture. So Cranfield may have got inspiration from over the garden wall, so to speak, from Danvers’ gardens, and he was probably able to discuss these ideas with Inigo Jones who was carrying out work on the house, who had first hand experience of Italian garden design. It was figures such as Jones and the Earl of Arundel who re-established direct contacts with the civilization of Renaissance Italy after 1603 when the wars of religion came to a close, resulting in fashions from Italy coming direct to England and no longer by means of France.¹⁷

¹⁶ CKS, U269/1 T6 [ON6807].

¹⁷ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 10, 43.

Figure 93: 'A summer house at Chealsea' by Robert Smythson



Ingram, a regular visitor to Chelsea House, may have been influenced by Cranfield's and possibly also by Danvers' grounds, which he then put into practice in the 1630s when he was modifying Temple Newsam. It is debatable whether Kip's view of Temple Newsam, 1699, shows the grounds as they were laid out in Ingram's time (Figure 94). Although Strong claims the landscape in Kip's image was representative of Ingram's designs, detailed analysis of documents relating to the estate after Ingram's decease suggest that the gardens were definitely modified between 1642 and 1699.¹⁸ In a painter's account from 1687, a 'new' kitchen garden was mentioned, as was a 'new' garden, whilst in September 1668 Richard Willis was paid 13^s for 'setting up tarras upon Templenewsam hall'.¹⁹ This suggests at least one new terrace was constructed after Ingram's time and before Kip's drawing, and the location and layout of both the kitchen garden and another garden was possibly altered. These additions could have had a significant impact on the design of the grounds, but at the same time, could have simply replaced older features when needed, therefore it cannot be ascertained that Kip's view of Temple Newsam records the gardens which Sir Arthur Ingram devised.

¹⁸ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 185.

¹⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/2; WYL100/EA/12/10/4.

Figure 94: *Temple Newsam by Johannes Kip, 1699*



Just as the house and garden were connected so were styles in garden design, and cannot be neatly boxed off into chronological phases. Strong's work is very restrictive in this sense as he categorises garden styles almost into monarchical periods, '[s]ucceeding the Henrician heraldic garden and the Elizabethan emblematic one came the era of the Mannerist garden', when in reality the speed at which garden styles evolved depended on various factors, such as the owner's preferences, wealth and social standing – all of which were subject to change throughout a lifetime.²⁰ The rate at which dissemination of continental designs occurred also depended on a variety of circumstances, including geographical location, strength of social networks, and access to court and the continent where progressive styles could be viewed. When all these components are taken into consideration it is understandable that elite gardens varied between places and over

²⁰ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 10; Cranfield, for example, altered his designs for a loggia in his garden at Copt Hall due to his recent decline in fortunes, see pp. 389-90.

time. In terms of incorporating Italian design into English gardens, the process is best described as piecemeal. Dixon Hunt claims that most Italianate ideas and features adopted by the English elite were ‘somewhat randomly selected ... without much wish to re-create any one particular garden.’²¹ Gaining part of the essence of Italy appeared to be of most importance, rather than strictly adhering to a specific style, such as mannerism.

Ingram’s gardens still had heraldic devices in them as late as the 1640s, over a century after Henry VIII used this style to great effect at Whitehall and Hampton Court. Thomas Ventris and his son were employed by Sir Arthur to carve stone beasts and to make escutcheons to go on the mounts in the garden, which were presumably decorated with Sir Arthur’s coat of arms.²² Although it may be argued that this simply shows the gradual downward spread of styles from king to knight (and a northern knight at that), this issue is much more complex. John de Critz was paid for painting the beasts on the banqueting house at Nonesuch between 1623 and 1624, these heraldic sculptures sharing a garden with the most recent garden features such as fountains and stone walks.²³ So even royal palaces still contained ‘older’ features within their gardens, which were simply joined by new additions, rather than replaced by them. It cannot have been economic pressures or workload that explained why the beasts were not removed as a walk in the lower court paved with three hundred and thirty square feet of purbeck stone was taken up and re-laid with new stone in the same year, suggesting that if any part or feature of the garden was deemed undesirable it would be changed

²¹ Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, p. 104.

²² WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

²³ TNA, E351/3257.

whatever the cost and workmanship required.²⁴ Sir Henry Fanshawe, of Ware Park in Hertfordshire, however, certainly paid no regard to the disruption or financial burden of constantly keeping apace with prevalent garden trends. Chamberlain, who often stayed at Ware in the summer, wrote that in 1606 over forty men were at work on the grounds, clearing away the knot and constructing a fort in the centre of the garden.²⁵ Yet by 1613 the fort was being replaced by water features and Chamberlain envisaged more changes in the near future as ‘there is no end of new inventions.’²⁶ However, despite social pressure to display the most admired features in garden design currently crossing the channel, it has to be remembered that preference is subjective and gentlemen may have simply liked certain effects better than others. Many gardens probably contained a mixture of current trends and personal choice.

*He first enclosed within the gardens square
A dead and standing pool of air:*²⁷

As Marvell recognised, the ‘gardens square’ was the dominant form during Jacobean and Caroline England. Both Lawson and Markham specified that gardens should be square and their illustrations conveyed the importance of a geometrical layout (Figures 95 and 96).²⁸ A quadripartite layout was the most common form, and Cranfield’s orchard at Pishiobury was presumably laid out in quarters, as the gardener still had ‘a holl quarter to Lay out in the orchard’ in March 1613.²⁹ A quarter did not necessarily mean one fourth, however, as separate squares were termed quarters at this time, and

²⁴ TNA, E351/3257.

²⁵ Chamberlain, I, Letter 85, 15 October 1606, p. 235.

²⁶ Chamberlain, I, Letter 180, 1 August 1613, p. 468.

²⁷ Marvell, *The Mower against Gardens*, lines 5-6.

²⁸ Gervase Markham, *An English Husbandman*, (1613), in *The English Landscape Garden: examples of the most important literature of the English landscape garden movement together with some earlier garden books*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (London: Garland, 1982), p. 113; Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, p. 12, although Lawson uses the term ‘Orchard’ this was interchangeable with ‘garden’ at the time.

²⁹ CKS, U269/1 E19, 11 March 1613.

there could quite easily be six quarters within the garden plot, as Lawson's plan illustrates. The number of quarters in the garden often depended not only on creating a geometrically ideal plot but on the amount of space which was available to begin with; again the gardeners had to work with what they had.³⁰

Figure 95: The form of the orchard, William Lawson, A New Orchard and Garden, (1618), p. 12

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³⁰ Francis, "Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558 – c.1630," pp. 30-31.

Figure 96: The form of the garden, Gervase Markham, An English Husbandman, (1613), p. 113

Image has been removed due to copyright restriction

The whole grounds, according to Francis Bacon, were ‘to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides’, the main garden being the one referred to by

Markham and Lawson.³¹ The 'heath', Bacon stated, was 'to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness.'³² Beyond the formal gardens attached to the house, there was often less cultivated land, and this layout was influenced by the Italian grove, as explained in John Dixon Hunt's appropriately titled study, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination: 1600-1750*.³³ At Ashley House in Surrey, 'settes for the wildernes' purchased between July 1605 and September 1606 came to £10 15^s 5^d, and were presumably for the 'heath' or grove section of the garden.³⁴ The word 'grove' is actually used in the cashbook of Sir Thomas Puckering who paid two labourers for 'digging up the roots the nettles on the bank of the mount in my orchard towards the grove.'³⁵ The orchard was often the interlinking section between the enclosed garden and the grove and was often considered as part of the grove itself. Cranfield's grove at Pishiobury was evidently well stocked with trees as two years worth of timber for firing was provided from the area.³⁶ The grove was clearly located some distance from the house, and was used for practical reasons. Most groves provided an almost seamless movement from the ordered gardens to the natural world beyond the estate, but at Wilton it was the middle of the garden which formed the 'wilderness', primarily to disguise the River Nadder and to emanate the exact design of the grounds at St Germain-en-Laye in France.³⁷ Mowl termed this positioning of the

³¹ Francis Bacon, *Of Gardens*, (1625), in *Francis Bacon, The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 430-435, (p. 432).

³² Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 433.

³³ Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, see specifically p. 85.

³⁴ Blackman, "Ashley House," p. 77.

³⁵ *The Account Book and Inventory of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick and London*, eds. Catherine Richardson and Mark Merry, *The Dugdale Society*, Forthcoming 2012.

³⁶ CKS, U269/1 E20/4.

³⁷ Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen & Players, Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p. 5.

grove as dysfunctional as it went against the traditional Italian layout, and presumably because it disrupted the flow of the grounds from art to nature.³⁸

Just as gardens needed various sections, they also required different levels. Markham recognised that gardeners of different social statuses could achieve varying forms of garden design, and that the gardens of the upper gentry and the aristocracy could include not only the garden square which he illustrated but ‘one, two or three levelled squares, each mounting ... one above another’; in other words, they could incorporate terracing into their grounds.³⁹ Terracing was a key development in the early Stuart years, and both Ingram and Cranfield embraced this increasingly popular feature. Mounts had previously been used by gardeners to provide viewing points, and went back as early as medieval times, but high walks and terraces began to surpass them in elite homes in the early seventeenth century.⁴⁰ Mounts themselves were adapted over time, with some beginning to simulate terraces, being tiered, and most being placed on parterres in the centre of the garden rather than on the perimeter. This relocation changed the purpose of the mount, making it an object of attention, rather than a place from which to focus attention on the rest of the garden, whereas the introduction of levels to the mount integrated it into the garden by its resemblance to terracing.⁴¹ Ingram still had mounts and banks in his gardens but he combined them with terraces, as did Cranfield at Pishiobury in 1615.⁴² John Norden noted in 1624 that Ingram’s garden at Sheriff Hutton had ‘mounte walkes’, illustrating that Ingram’s mounts were not just viewing mounds but were incorporated into walks, or rather terraces.⁴³ At York

³⁸ Mowl, *Gentlemen & Players*, p. 8.

³⁹ Markham, *An English Husbandman*, p. 112.

⁴⁰ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 14, 115.

⁴¹ Smith, “The Sundial Garden and House-Plan Mount,” p. 16.

⁴² BL, EG1933, fol. 40, November 1615.

⁴³ BL, Harleian MSS 6288, fol. 2^v.

Ingram's mounts were made from cement, suggesting they were substantial structures, and they were clearly tiered like terraces as John Aston remarked that Ingram had 'cast several mounts and degrees one above the other', which provided a spectacular view over the town walls.⁴⁴ Mounts were certainly still used by many of the elite in this period, and were even part of the garden at the royal residence of Exeter House in the 1620s, highlighting the fact that gardens were often eclectic and contained both older features alongside new developments.⁴⁵

At Pishiobury, Cranfield modified the existing wooden terrace, by making a brick wall underneath it, suggesting it was elevated to provide views of the grounds.⁴⁶ A couple of years later the timber banisters were re-made, presumably at the same time as the new wooden porch was being erected, and the terrace now included stone steps.⁴⁷ By 1619 there was a 'new Tarras' adorned with sweet briars with a walk covered in brick dust.⁴⁸ Cranfield, then, was constantly updating the terracing at his Hertfordshire home. Ingram also modified his terraces frequently, and even moved terraces between his houses. In June 1623 John Lumley was paid for 'taking downe the Tarris at Sheriff and setting it upp againe att yorke'.⁴⁹ Ingram also made use of surplus timber from his chapel at York to make posts and rails for the terrace around the fish pond.⁵⁰ A new terrace was constructed at Sheriff Hutton between the winter of 1621 and the following spring, with the joiner making posts and rails in October and stone being acquired from the castle in

⁴⁴ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 15 May 1629; Aston cited in Gilbert, "Ingram's Palace, York," p. 29.

⁴⁵ TNA, E351/3257.

⁴⁶ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1323], 8 January 1613.

⁴⁷ BL, EG1933, fol. 38, November 1615.

⁴⁸ CKS, U269/1 E40 [ON4962], April 1619.

⁴⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/9.

⁵⁰ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/9, May 1623.

April 1622 for paving.⁵¹ It was presumably this terrace that was updated in January 1638 so that it was ‘after the same manner and sise in everie respect as the new terris in the garden at yorke’. The carpenter William Butler was contracted to turn new balusters and make balls and beasts to furnish the post heads.⁵² Butler was paid for finishing the ‘long tarris in the orchard’ in December 1638.⁵³ The terrace included steps up to a high walk, which were paved, whereas the terrace itself, made of wood, was painted in Spanish white.⁵⁴ There was also a stone terrace ‘at the gate’ which was mended in June 1639 by Ventris.⁵⁵ This terrace was presumably more visible to outsiders, being near the gate, and that may be the reason it was built in stone, a higher calibre of material than wood, which was used in the construction of the orchard terrace. At New Park Ingram also employed stone for his ‘walk up to the house’ which was finished by the mason Oswald Fox in December 1641.⁵⁶

At Copt Hall Cranfield envisioned a spectacular three-tiered terrace, including the existing loggia re-modified, and had two craftsmen draw up estimates for the work.⁵⁷ According to Edmund Kinsman’s estimate the terracing was to be composed on three different levels, rising from the ‘Cowrt syde Tarrasses’ to the ‘Lower, or Stone Tarras’ (that is the loggia), and at its height to a walk on the leads, which would be accessed through a ‘doore case and passage through the middle of the gallery wyndow’.⁵⁸ The ambitious plan was not carried out, however, and a more modest approach was taken. Perhaps Cranfield was finding it hard to rein in his desires to match his altered financial

⁵¹ WYASL, WYL100/SH/A4/22; WYL100/C/1/142.

⁵² WYASL, WYL100/SH/F3/1.

⁵³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

⁵⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

⁵⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

⁵⁶ WYASL, WYL100/C/3/262, letter from John Wiggins to Sir Arthur Ingram, 1 December 1641.

⁵⁷ CKS, U269 E199.

⁵⁸ CKS, U269 E199.

position. Newman recognises that the original design, if it had come to fruition, ‘would have been a unique structure in this country, aping, it may be, Henri IV’s mighty terraces at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.’⁵⁹ Cranfield’s taste for the finest architectural features within his grounds could be sated at Chelsea before his impeachment, but after his move to Copt Hall he had to lower his aspirations slightly to suit his recent change in fortune. Cranfield clearly realised that Copt Hall could have been as great as Chelsea if he been able to carry out all his plans. He wrote to Nicholas Herman, his secretary when he was Master of the Court of Wards, from Copt Hall in April 1626 informing him that, ‘[t]he place beggins now to be but to pleasing else [if] I had made the gardens sweete as Chelsey wth some few of my Additions It would have no fellowe’.⁶⁰

The terraces were primarily to raise one higher than ground level so the gardens could be viewed from above, and this was especially desirable to see the knot, or increasingly the *parterre de broderie*, in all its glory. Knots were a staple for all sixteenth century gardens but by the early seventeenth century parterres resembling embroidery, a style introduced from France, were beginning to take hold in the gardens of England’s elite. In January 1616 Sheppard informed Cranfield that the gardener Potter was to ‘go in hande wthe the ffrenshe hedges’ at Pishiobury, and we later hear that Potter has ‘put into the grounde all shuche thinges as shalbe in the ffrenche hedge.’⁶¹ Perhaps these ‘French’ hedges were examples of *parterre de broderie*? If they were, this would be quite advanced for an English garden and would put it on a par with the gardens of Hatfield, and even ahead of Wilton gardens, which did not incorporate the French feature associated with Claude Mollet, and realised in England by Isaac de Caus, until

⁵⁹ Newman, “Copthall, Essex,” p. 25.

⁶⁰ CKS, U269/1 CB309; Herman remained a devoted servant to Cranfield after his impeachment, see Prestwich, p. 238.

⁶¹ CKS, U269/1 E20/4, 27 January 1616; E20/5, 21 February 1618.

the 1630s.⁶² A more likely explanation is that the hedges bordered the knot garden and were made of French box, which Parkinson describes as ‘a small, lowe, or dwarfe kind’ of the plant, which would fit with Sheppard’s belief that the knot ‘must be kept Low and small, other wies ther ys no plesure in yt’.⁶³ Presumably that pleasure was being able to see the entirety of the pattern without needing to be too elevated.

Despite the introduction of the *parterre de broderie* to England in the early 1600s many gentry gardens still incorporated the knot within their designs until the latter seventeenth century. Markham described the knot as ‘most antient and at this day of most use amongst the vulgar though least respected with great ones’, whereas Lawson did not even discuss the feature in his key work, *A New Orchard and Garden*, but relegated it to his secondary work, *The Country Housewife’s Garden*, possibly signifying the decreasing importance of knots in garden design.⁶⁴ Both Ingram and Cranfield had knot gardens, but at least they took Markham’s advice on the type of herb to use for their knots, both using germander.⁶⁵ Ingram also often bought hyssop seeds, another plant recommended by writers such as Markham and Parkinson as being ideally suited to knot gardens.⁶⁶ Germander and hyssop were wise choices to edge knots as they could be clipped very low to the ground and did not have the pungent smell of box, although Cranfield probably also used box in his gardens at Pishiobury.

⁶² Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, pp. 123-4, 200.

⁶³ Parkinson, *Paridisi in Sole Paridisus Terrestris*, p. 6; CKS, U269/1 E20/10 [ON6240].

⁶⁴ Markham, *An English Husbandman*, p. 120; William Lawson, *The Country House-Wife’s Garden* (1617), (London: Cresset Press, 1927), pp. 70-76.

⁶⁵ Markham, *An English Husbandman*, p. 124; WYASL, WYL100/SH/A4/16; CKS, U269/1 E20/10 [ON6232].

⁶⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30, June 1634. Although hyssop was quite a common plant, gentlemen in the North-West had to send to York for it, John H. Harvey, “The Supply of Plants in the North-West,” *Garden History* 6:3 (Winter, 1978): 33-37, (p. 33).

Bowling greens were also a fundamental part of elite gardens as they provided the opportunity for recreation with friends. Andrew Boorde believed ‘for a greate man necessary it is for to passe his tyme with bowles in an aly’, and, as noted in Chapter 2, Ingram and Cranfield par-took in games of bowls with friends.⁶⁷ Bowling greens were certainly popular in the period and new greens, such as Spring Gardens and Shavers Hall in Westminster, were set up.⁶⁸ The most eminent men, however, had their own private greens where they could entertain whilst showing off their home and grounds. All the great houses such as Theobalds, Hatfield, Gorhambury, and Audley End had bowling greens, and Ingram and Cranfield were no different, having greens at York Palace, New Lodge at Sheriff Hutton, Pishiobury and Copt Hall.⁶⁹ Kip’s views of both Temple Newsam and Beaufort House show bowling greens just behind the main range of the houses, (Figures 97 and 98). Although no evidence can be found in Cranfield’s papers to suggest he had a bowling green at Chelsea when he resided there, there is evidence that Ingram had a bowling green at Temple Newsam. Ingram’s bowling green was laid out between 1634 and 1635, when he was also constructing the banqueting house which overlooked the green.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Andrew Boorde, *A compendyouys regyment or a dyetary of healthe made in Mountpyllyer, by Andrewe Boorde of physycke doctour, newly corrected and imprynted with dyuers addycions dedycated to the armypotent Prynce and valyent Lorde Thomas Duke of Northfolke*, 1547, p. 239.

⁶⁸ Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, pp. 164-6.

⁶⁹ For Theobalds and Hatfield see Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, pp. 85-6, 108; for Gorhambury see *Early Stuart Household Accounts*, p. 167; for Audley End see Drury, “Audley End,” notes 66 and 109; for York see WYASL, WYL178/4, 28 November 1625 and WYL100/EA/13/18, August and September 1632; for Sheriff Hutton see WYASL, WYL178/5, 2 February 1628; for Pishiobury see CKS, U269/1 E20/1, 25 November 1615 and BL, EG1933, 30 June 1615 and 11 November 1615; for Copt Hall see CKS, U269 A505/1, 18 October 1631.

⁷⁰ WYASL, WYL100/ EA/12/10/1; WYL100/EA/13/37, 28 April 1635 and 13 May 1635.

Figure 97: Detail from Kip's Temple Newsam showing the bowling green

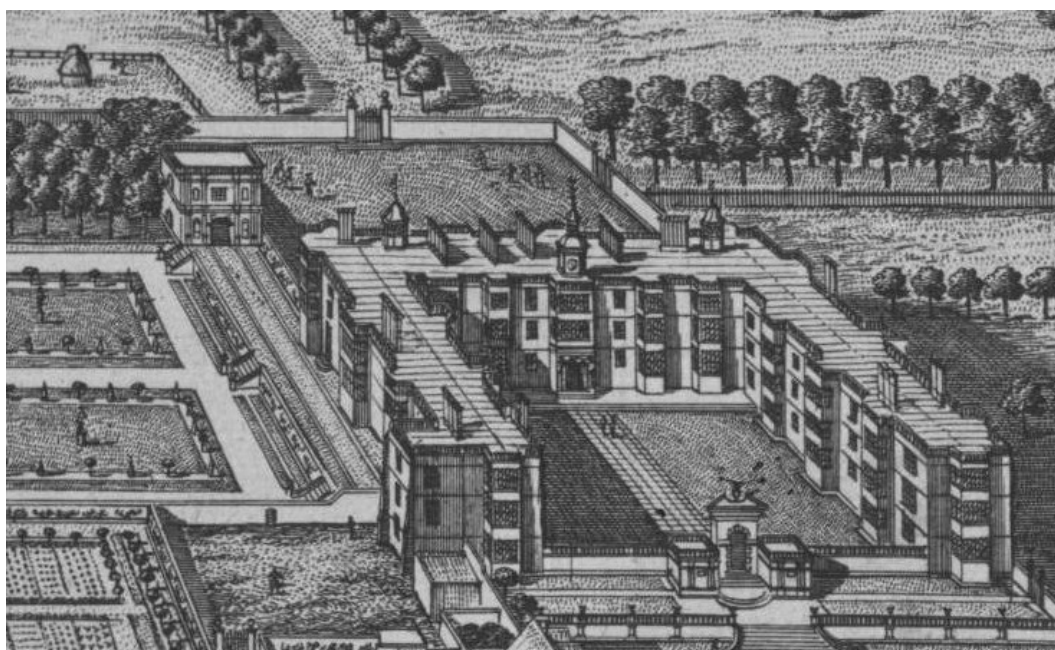
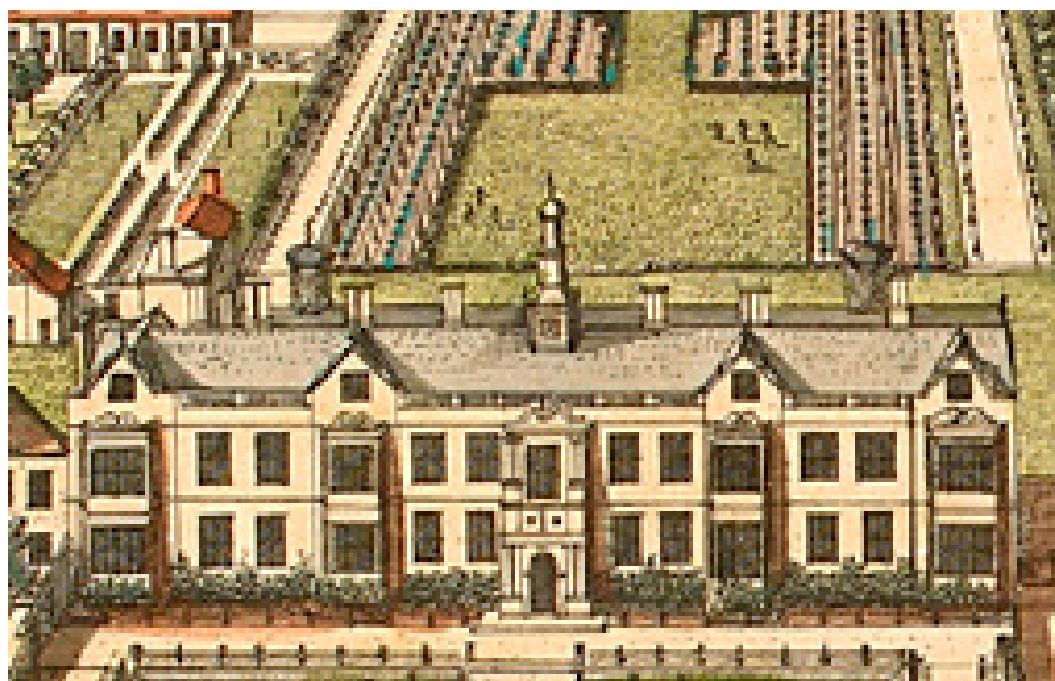


Figure 98: Detail from Kip's Beaufort House showing the bowling green



7.2 Ornamenting

As well as patterns, plants could be shaped in the form of figures and creatures, a practice that was used at York Palace by Ingram when he had his gardener 'cut the rest

of the prim in the hedges into beasts'.⁷¹ This topiary required substantial upkeep with regular trimming and the purchasing of wire and stakes to support the beasts.⁷² It took the gardener and his boy two and a half days 'staking upp the garden hedgbeaste', which cost Ingram 2^s 6^d in wages.⁷³ In one month in 1629 Ingram spent £1 1^s on the floral figures but despite these costs he had clearly maintained topiary at his home in York for a considerable period of time as his letter instructing the gardener to cut the prim was composed in 1622, seven years earlier. John Aston, who resided in York in 1639 as the king's privy chamber man, noted 'images of lions, bears, apes and the like, both beasts and birds' in Ingram's garden, and was presumably referring to the topiary, as well as the stone statues, confirming that topiary was a long-standing feature in Ingram's grounds.⁷⁴ Aston, however, was not impressed by the devices, believing them 'shows only to delight children', echoing Francis Bacon's earlier opinion that topiary 'be for children'.⁷⁵

Cranfield's accounts do not reveal any clues as to whether he indulged in topiary, but he did own 'Lord Bacon's Works' in quarto (which presumably included his essay *Of Gardens*), so may have followed Bacon's advice on the matter.⁷⁶ The Medici gardens first experimented with topiary in the second half of the fifteenth century and this practice was not to come to fruition in England until over a century later.⁷⁷ This may appear a long time but Strong notes that 'a time lag of at least half a century is the norm from the inception of a new style in Italy to its arrival in any comprehensive form in

⁷¹ WYASL, WYL178/4, 14 October 1622.

⁷² WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 4 and 7 May 1629.

⁷³ WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, 21 May 1629.

⁷⁴ Cited in Gilbert, "Ingram's Palace, York," p. 29.

⁷⁵ Cited in Gilbert, "Ingram's Palace, York," p. 29; Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 433.

⁷⁶ CKS, U269 A460.

⁷⁷ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 15.

England.’⁷⁸ Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford, noted for her exquisitely designed grounds, shared her garden in Twickenham with hedge beasts in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, suggesting they were not passé.⁷⁹ Gardening manuals of the period certainly mention the art form, as Lawson informed his readers that ‘[y]our Gardner can frame your lesser wood to the shape of men armed in the field, ready to give battle; of swift-running Grey-hounds, or of well-sented and true-running Hounds to chase the Deer, or hunt the Hare.’⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that Lawson specified that these figures must be cut from the ‘lesser’ wood, possibly because he thought only spare wood that was not needed for other, more practical, garden features should be used for this trivial art. Parkinson described topiary as ‘sette by women for their pleasure ... as in the fashion of a Cart, a Peacock or such like thing as they fancie’.⁸¹ The fact he ascribed the art to women suggests he also saw topiary as frivolous, with no practical use.

*Their statues polished by some ancient hand,
May to adorn the gardens stand*⁸²

One of the main features of Sir Arthur Ingram’s gardens were the stone heraldic beasts he had sculpted to be displayed in the grounds of all his houses. The limestone beasts were produced by both Ventris senior and junior and often the accounts do not distinguish which Ventris made which beasts. It is not clear whether it was the father or son who Matteson reported was quite protective of his work, ‘for those things in the garden that Ventris wrought he will not suffer the painters to meddle with them but will

⁷⁸ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 21-2.

⁷⁹ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 120.

⁸⁰ Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, p. 64.

⁸¹ Cited in the Preface to Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, by Eleanour Sinclair Rohde, p. xiii.

⁸² Marvell, *The Mower against Gardens*, lines 37-8.

finish them himself.’⁸³ Maybe he was not satisfied with the work of previous painters who had embellished the beasts, such as Thomas Hodgson who was paid for ‘worke donne about the beaste heade in the gardden’ at Sheriff Hutton in July 1624.⁸⁴ The quantity of beasts that were produced is quite impressive. Thomas Ventris the younger was paid for thirteen beasts made of stone for the gardens at Temple Newsam at 6^s a piece and also for seven more beasts to be constructed, altogether being paid £6 on 11 February 1637.⁸⁵ In July 1639 the painter Thomas Trotter was paid for painting the ‘18 standing beases of ye bank ... 5 statues & the 4 bease in the garden’, quite a menagerie.⁸⁶ After Ventris had made the beasts, other workmen were required to position them for display; Berriman, the carpenter, used pulleys to help set up the four beasts in the garden, and the pedestals were set up by the tilers John Hunter and John Monkman.⁸⁷ Some of Ventris’ limestone beasts still survive at Sheriff Hutton, including a lion, (Figure 99), which is still sitting on a brick pedestal, presumably the original one constructed by Hunter and Monkman.⁸⁸ There were also beasts at York, both stone and topiary, and Ingram was so keen on the Ventris’ workmanship that he even had beasts shipped to London for his gardens there. William Butler, carpenter, was paid 5^s to make ‘6 greate boxes to carrie the stone bease & pettinstalls [pedestals] to London in 7ber last’ on 13 January 1639.⁸⁹ It is interesting to find Ingram transporting decorative items to his London home, when he presumably could have employed a carver in London to carry out the work, especially when the items in question were ‘old-fashioned’ according to Strong as they harked back to the stone beasts that were features of Henry

⁸³ WYASL, WYL178/5, 26 May 1630.

⁸⁴ WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/3.

⁸⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/23.

⁸⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

⁸⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30, 11-14 March 1640.

⁸⁸ Gilbert, “Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire – II,” p. 631.

⁸⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

VIII's Whitehall and Hampton Court.⁹⁰ Although royal gardens led the way in terms of garden features, beasts were being used for heraldic display within the gardens of courtiers by Elizabeth's reign, quite some time before Ingram's menagerie was to come to fruition.⁹¹ Ingram's personal preference for the beasts was not that unusual as the early seventeenth century was far more characterised by individual preferences than the eighteenth century, which saw a standardisation of taste, and was a 'most rule-bound and timid of times.'⁹² Although Ingram clearly admired the heraldic statues, there may also have been economical reasons for his transferral of them to London. Perhaps he found it cheaper to pay Ventris and any costs of carriage than it would be to pay a London sculptor, who charged significantly higher rates, or perhaps he was simply recycling the statues.

⁹⁰ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 185, 26.

⁹¹ Heraldic beasts were employed by Robert Dudley in his gardens at Kenilworth in 1575, Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 51.

⁹² Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire*, pp. 180-184; Mowl, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Style*, p. 13.

Figure 99: Lion statue by Thomas Ventris, c.1630s, Sheriff Hutton Hall



Statues themselves were certainly still in vogue in the Stuart period, but had evolved from heraldic devices into continental antiquities, a fine example being the sculpture garden which the Earl of Arundel laid out at his London home. At Wilton garden, Isaac

de Caus positioned 'the Gladiator of bras the most famous Statue of all that Antiquity hath left' as his centre-piece.⁹³ This was a cast of the celebrated Borghese gladiator sculpture, made of marble c.100BC, and discovered in 1611 south of Rome. After Charles I commissioned a bronze cast of the continental treasure many English gentlemen followed suit. It was not just a feature in southern gardens such as Wilton and Knole, however, as one graced Sir Hugh Cholmley's forecourt at his home in Whitby. Ingram himself indulged in some foreign sculpture, purchasing four heads from a Frenchman for £6 10^s in February 1637.⁹⁴ The heads were bought in London and shipped north on the 25 February at a cost of 2^s 6^d and were presumably the 'emperor heads' which were carried to Temple Newsam on 8 and 13 March and 7 April 1637.⁹⁵ Roman emperor heads were a step up for Ingram, showing his desire to partake in the classical Renaissance. The quality of the busts Ingram acquired, however, may not have been of the highest standard as even Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to Venice, had been led to believe some emperor heads that he had acquired (which he hoped, but failed to sell to Arundel) were better than they actually were, '[a]nd if the report of one here had not moved me to seek after them as things of much esteem, I had not thought of them'.⁹⁶ Carleton's comment highlights the importance men of the time attached to their peers' opinions, and this exemplifies the acquisition of goods for showmanship as well as personal preference.

⁹³ Isaac de Caus, *Le Jardin de Wilton* (c. 1645), in *The English Landscape Garden: examples of the most important literature of the English landscape garden movement together with some earlier garden books*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (New York: Garland, 1982), p. 2.

⁹⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

⁹⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a; WYL100/EA/13/23.

⁹⁶ Cited in Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 62.

Ingram's accounts, as well as specifically mentioning beasts, included payments for the carving and positioning of statues.⁹⁷ Unfortunately it was not stated what the statues were of, but three statues survive at Sheriff Hutton, two of amorini and one of a Roman soldier. The amorini (Figure 100) are ascribed to the sculptor Andreas Kearne by Gilbert, despite the fact that Kearne only featured in the accounts as 'casting lead pots'.⁹⁸ However, Kearne did carry out work for Sir Henry Slingsby at Red House, a short distance from Sheriff Hutton, producing one lead figure and a stone statue of a racehorse.⁹⁹ So Kearne could clearly work in both mediums, suggesting, along with the familial connections between the Slingsbys and the Ingrams, that Kearne could indeed be the person responsible for the surviving amorini. Gilbert surmises that the figure of the Roman soldier was produced by John Ashbie.¹⁰⁰ Certainly, Ashbie is recorded in the account book, receiving £1 for two weeks work on 'ye Statue' in April 1638, but the subject matter of the statue is not stated, and therefore, much like Kearne's work for Ingram, Ashbie cannot be conclusively identified as the author of individual works.¹⁰¹ When comparing the statue to one of the pieces in the Earl of Arundel's revered collection it is clear that Ingram's garden ornament was not on a par. Ingram's statue of a Roman soldier appeared inferior not only in social rank to Arundel's sculpture of a Roman Centurian, but also in quality (Figures 101 and 102). Arundel's statue was the work of Egidio Moretti, a 'modest performer', but a modest performer from Rome, a fact which made his work surpass any of an English sculptor in the eyes of the elite.¹⁰² Ingram was certainly aware of the current fashions in garden sculpture but did not have

⁹⁷ WYASL, WYL178/5, 2 February 1629; WYL100/EA/13/19, 9 and 13 May, 27 June, 27 and 28 July, 7 September 1635.

⁹⁸ Gilbert, "Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire – II," p. 631; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25, 28 July 1638.

⁹⁹ White, "Andreas Kearne (fl. 1627-1641)," *ODNB*; see Chapter 5, p. 270.

¹⁰⁰ Gilbert, "Sheriff Hutton Hall, Yorkshire – II," p. 631.

¹⁰¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25, Ashbie is also paid in May for work on the statue.

¹⁰² Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, p. 47.

the same connections with the continent as Arundel did, and therefore employed native craftsmen to try and replicate foreign designs, excepting, of course, Andreas Kearne. There is no record of Cranfield commissioning any stand-alone statues to be made for his gardens, although he did have figures on the posts of his wooden terrace at Pishiobury, as mentioned above.¹⁰³ The new porch that was built at Pishiobury in 1615 also included figures, with ‘2 boyes to stande upon the postes’ and ‘6 orphins to suporte the plansere’.¹⁰⁴ As already noted, Cranfield employed Inigo Jones to design the gateway to his grounds at Chelsea, suggesting he maybe preferred to spend his money on quality ‘necessary’ structures such as terraces and gateways, which could themselves be adorned with figures, rather than actual statues themselves. Perhaps Cranfield agreed with Bacon in that statues added ‘nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.’¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1323], 8 January 1613.

¹⁰⁴ CKS U269 A512 [ON9118]; The *OED* defines a plansere as ‘the underside of the corona of a cornice.’

¹⁰⁵ Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 435.

Figure 100: Amorini, attributed to Andreas Kearne, c.1638, Sheriff Hutton Hall



Figure 101: Roman soldier ascribed to John Ashbie, c.1638, Sheriff Hutton Hall



Figure 102: A Roman General, Egidio Moretti



*'Tis all enforced; the fountain and the grot;
While the sweet fields do lie forgot*¹⁰⁶

The early seventeenth century saw an increase in the use of water features, such as fountains, automata and grottoes, within the gardens of the English elite. This was due to a variety of factors such as an increase in plumbing technology, Italian and French influence, and the fact that hydraulics began to be studied in greater depth. It was during this period that print matter on the subject became available, most notably in Salomon de Caus' *Les Raisons des forces mouvantes* (1615), and in the revised version penned by his brother Isaac in 1644.¹⁰⁷ Both the de Caus brothers spent time in England working for eminent patrons; their most splendid examples being displayed at Richmond Palace where Salomon worked for Prince Henry in the 1610s, and at Wilton where Isaac produced various water works for Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in the 1630s.¹⁰⁸ These French engineers helped to disseminate in England the new technology associated with the artificial use of water which could already be seen in their home country in gardens such as St Germaine-en-Laye, and also in Italian grounds such as Pratolino, which Salomon had visited.¹⁰⁹ The use of water to beautify gardens was not a new idea; medieval grounds almost always included ponds, moats, and canals which had been created to provide a serene atmosphere, just as eighteenth century gardens were sculpted into rolling grounds with lakes and streams running through them. What was distinctive about the seventeenth century was the employment of science and new technology to create artistic effects with water rather than embracing the element of

¹⁰⁶ Marvell, *The Mower against Gardens*, lines 31-2.

¹⁰⁷ Christopher Thacker, "Fountains: Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Garden History Society Occasional Paper 2* (1970): 19-26, (p. 21).

¹⁰⁸ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, pp. 10, 154-6.

¹⁰⁹ Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, pp. 183-4.

nature. As Thacker states, 'fountains are not just an expression of joie de vivre, of exuberance, but the visible sign of man's control over nature.'¹¹⁰

To aid the movement of water machinery and pumps were employed, as were waterwheels and windmills.¹¹¹ Many earlier fountains were powered by gravity, with the water being drawn from a higher level than the fountain, a practice Cranfield employed at his house in Wiston, piping the water from the nearby hills to his Sussex home.¹¹² Many other country houses utilized the undulating landscape that surrounded their estates to pipe water from hills which, due to the force of gravity, did not require a great deal of hydraulic machinery.¹¹³ Despite the scientific advances in hydraulics in the period, many water features were also revered for their associations with mythology. At Nonsuch the grove was the habitat of Diana from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the fountain displaying her majestically.¹¹⁴ Although Dixon Hunt notes that the 'theatrical delight' of such waterworks was gradually overshadowed by 'a more pragmatic attitude towards hydraulics and the geological specimens from which grottoes were constructed', mythology was still being used in Stuart gardens.¹¹⁵ Diana, the huntress, was perfectly epitomised not only by John Lord Lumley at Nonsuch, but also by Jones for a new fountain for Somerset House in the 1630s. The French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur used Jones' design to create the fountain which was cast in bronze.¹¹⁶ Cranfield owned a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* but there are no hints that this classic text inspired him

¹¹⁰ Thacker, "Fountains: Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," p. 21.

¹¹¹ Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, pp. 182-3.

¹¹² CKS, U269 E272/2.

¹¹³ This practice was used at Bolsover, Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 183.

¹¹⁴ Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 93.

¹¹⁵ Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove*, p. 80.

¹¹⁶ Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 191.

to use mythology within his gardens.¹¹⁷ Paige Johnson's research on the fountain of three rainbows at Wilton describes the feature constructed by Isaac de Caus as 'a unique combination of myth and mechanics', which not only used the scientific process of refraction to achieve the desired effect but drew on the ancient figure of Iris as a representation of the rainbow.¹¹⁸ So science and myth could be used together to create pleasing effects.

Although James' reign saw the introduction of these flagrant artificial features it was still desirable to have natural water features alongside them, such as streams and rivers running close to (or through) the garden. Streams and rivers were not only picturesque, they also aided productivity. Lawson stated that it was preferable to have your garden near a river, and his main reasoning for this was for the fertile soil which would aid the growth of rich fruit.¹¹⁹ Lawson, then, was not overly concerned with the use of water for art's sake, he saw it as a means for enriching one's produce, which would benefit his class of readers economically and reward their labour. Cranfield's garden at Pishiobury was ideally located, the house being described as 'pleasantly scituated uppon a River beautified wth gardens Orchards walkes Ponds & c.'¹²⁰ The orchard at Pishiobury was heavily stocked with fruit trees and their yield was probably aided by the nearby river's nourishment to the soil.

Ponds were another feature that held their own against the new wave of water inventions. Although they had been used since medieval times for provision of fish for

¹¹⁷ CKS, U269 E198/2.

¹¹⁸ Paige Johnson, "Proof of Heavenly Iris: The Fountain of Three Rainbows at Wilton House, Wiltshire," *Garden History* 35:1 (Summer, 2007): 51-67, (p. 51).

¹¹⁹ Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, p. 6.

¹²⁰ CKS, U269 E286/3.

the household, they were often adapted to more ornamental uses over time. However, Currie draws attention to the fact that fish were still kept by gentlemen in the eighteenth century, using Roger North as an example, although North did not see the process as simply resourceful but believed it was also advantageous to a gentleman's social standing.¹²¹ Cranfield had at least four fish ponds at Pishiobury, but they clearly became more for aesthetic than practical purposes as Sheppard wrote to Cranfield that 'if you have any intencion to store your ponndes again, yt must be wthe yonnger fishe'.¹²² Ingram, however, kept his fish ponds at York well stocked with pikes, and even small fish to feed the pikes, and he also purchased '8 paire of Mallards [and] a paire of yong signetts'.¹²³

Artificial features such as fountains and automata needed a good water supply and it could be both costly and time consuming to convey water to the estate. Many country houses at this time did not have a running water supply even for domestic purposes, let alone to power garden ornaments.¹²⁴ In London, water was scarce due to the high population and was shared between inhabitants through a network of pipes, usually acquired through pumps and conduits shared with neighbours. The elite, however, often had private pipes which fed off main pipes (termed 'quills'), but these could be cut off by the aldermen if excessive amounts of water were being consumed, as in 1608 when the Earl of Suffolk's quill was stopped.¹²⁵ Before Cranfield made his mark at court he probably shared water with his neighbours, just like any other merchant would do.

¹²¹ Christopher K. Currie, "Fishponds as Garden Features, c.1550-1750," *Garden History* 18:1 (Spring, 1990): 22-46 (p. 24).

¹²² CKS, U269/1 E20/1, 17 May 1613; E20/1, 18 May 1613.

¹²³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/9; WYL178/4, 13 March 1625.

¹²⁴ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 248.

¹²⁵ Mark S. R. Jenner, "From Conduit community to commercial network? Water in London, 1500-1725," in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, eds. Paul Griffiths and Mark S. R. Jenner, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000): 250-272, (pp. 253-5).

When he lived in Wood Street he was recorded as paying Goodwife Long, ‘the water bearer’, which supports this suggestion.¹²⁶ Country houses did not have these problems, and, more often than not, had their own private supply of water from springs on, or nearby, their estate. There were many other problems, however, in securing an efficient water supply. The main problem was gravity, as outlined above. Many Elizabethan and Jacobean houses were situated on hills to provide a good prospect, but this hindered the flow of water to the residences.¹²⁷ Cranfield’s engineer, Sir John Lawrence, overcame this issue and was duly celebrated in Sir John Suckling’s poem ‘Sir John Laurence bringing water over the hills to my Lord Middlesex’s house at Witten’.¹²⁸ The poem commends the gravity defying technology employed, ‘And is the water come? sure’t cannot be; / It runs too much against philosophy: / For heavy bodies to the centre bend; / Light bodies only naturally ascend.’¹²⁹ The Earl of Arundel, Cranfield’s neighbour, was impressed with the waterworks and desired his water supply to run as efficiently, suggesting Cranfield’s plumbing was of enviable quality.¹³⁰

Lawrence supervised John Etherington and his brother who made and laid the water pipes which conveyed water from the nearby hills to Wiston House in the spring of 1630.¹³¹ Prestwich claims these waterworks were ‘achieved at small cost’, although Cranfield’s steward Henry Ayre wrote to Cranfield of ‘very chargable’ weeks and stated that Sir John Lawrence need not be there, and if he had not been £20 could have been saved.¹³² This questions the input that Lawrence actually had on the project, if Ayre considered him superfluous. The Etheringtons certainly appear to have done the bulk of

¹²⁶ *Cranfield Papers I*, p. 72.

¹²⁷ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 248.

¹²⁸ Prestwich, p. 521.

¹²⁹ Prestwich, p. 521.

¹³⁰ Prestwich, p. 521.

¹³¹ CKS, U269 E272/2.

¹³² Prestwich, p. 521; CKS, U269/1 E65, 15 June 1630.

the work rather than Lawrence, but they did delay work by choosing the wrong clay to construct the pipes, suggesting they needed someone to oversee their work.¹³³ In the city, aldermen were increasingly turning to foreign engineers to improve the flow of the capital's water, as they had a better understanding of water-raising technology.¹³⁴ Perhaps if Cranfield had consulted an engineer from the continent his waterworks would have been completed without setbacks. He had earlier employed Hugh Justice, the king's plumber, to install pipes at Copt Hall and there appears to have been no such setbacks there. The pipes were brought from London and therefore no doubt of good quality, and this combined with the fact that an esteemed workman was installing them, obviously aided the success of the project.¹³⁵

As well as providing water for practical uses, the pipes at Wiston were connected to two fountains and the ponds in the orchard.¹³⁶ Cranfield also had fountains in his garden at Copt Hall, but there is little evidence to suggest any of his gardens included grottoes or automata.¹³⁷ The only possible clue for his use of these features is in Kinsman's estimate for the new terracing he wished to create at Copt Hall. The terracing was to have vaults underneath it connected to a water supply, but it cannot be proven that the water was to be used for aesthetic rather than practical purposes.¹³⁸ Ingram also had fountains at York and Temple Newsam, constructed in 1634 and 1635,¹³⁹ but it has also

¹³³ CKS, U269/1 E65, 15 June 1630.

¹³⁴ Jenner, "From Conduit community to commercial network? Water in London, 1500-1725," p. 256.

¹³⁵ CKS, U269 A505/1, 18 August 1627 – 17 November 1627.

¹³⁶ CKS, U269 E272/2.

¹³⁷ CKS, U269 A505/1, 23 May 1631.

¹³⁸ CKS, U269 E199, Edmund Kinsman's estimate. This part of the terracing appears to have been carried out as a bill by Kinsman details that his men worked in the sellers, presumably another name for the vaults. Also the plumber's bill of 18 August to 17 November 1627 states that pipes were installed in the sellers – CKS, U269 A505/1.

¹³⁹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/1; WYL100/EA/13/19.

been suggested that he had a grotto at his West Riding home.¹⁴⁰ Strong uses the evidence that leads for a water pipe were present in the upper chamber of the summer house, but these are listed in an inventory from 1666, twenty-four years after Ingram died, so the grotto could have been installed by Ingram's descendents.¹⁴¹ It is also debatable whether the presence of water pipes must mean there was a grotto; the pipes could have been used for many other practical purposes. However, summer houses quite often had grottoes underneath, as at Whitehall, where de Caus was paid 'for makeing a rocke in the vaulte under the banquettinge house'.¹⁴² The banquetting houses constructed by Sir Baptist Hickes in the early seventeenth century at his house in Chipping Campden still survive, and the earthworks surrounding them reveal that the upper storey of each was entered from one terrace, whilst the lower rooms were accessed from another, suggesting the lower storeys may have contained grottoes.¹⁴³ Sir Francis Bacon built an exquisite summer house at Gorhambury, and although it did not have a grotto in its lower chambers it was the centre piece of his water garden, with a roof-terrace from which to view the ponds.¹⁴⁴

Summer houses themselves, with or without grotto, were another form of garden architecture which were at their peak in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period, largely due to the extra entertaining space they offered. John Stow, in his *Survey of London*, noted the increase in banquetting houses being built, which were 'for shewe and pleasure, bewraying the vanity of mens mindes'.¹⁴⁵ Stow clearly thought banquetting

¹⁴⁰ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 185.

¹⁴¹ Strong cites D. G. Wild and C. G. Gilbert, "Excavation of Garden Banqueting House," *Leeds Arts Calendar* 60 (1967): 4-7 (p. 4) and the inventory of 1666, WYASL, WYL100/EA/3/10.

¹⁴² TNA, E351/3257.

¹⁴³ Everson, "The Gardens of Campden House," pp. 119-120.

¹⁴⁴ Paula Henderson, "Sir Francis Bacon's Water Gardens at Gorhambury," *Garden History* 20:2 (Autumn, 1992): 116-131, (p. 122).

¹⁴⁵ Stow, *A Survey of London*, II, p. 78.

houses were for art's sake rather than a necessity, and surviving designs such as Robert Lyming's for a summer house at Blickling Hall certainly support this notion. Lyming's sketch for Sir Henry Hobart details the front facade of the proposed (but never executed) banqueting house which was to include columns, a pedimented arch over a seat, statues and a finial. In particular, Lyming's annotation regarding the statues expresses the importance placed on the aesthetic quality of the building, 'they would bee of stone & as bigg as lyfe or els they will mak no shew'.¹⁴⁶

The function of banqueting houses was to provide an intimate space to retire to after dinner, where guests could indulge in a sensory experience. Their taste buds would be satisfied by sweet meats and other delicacies, often served from marble tables and special plates; whilst their eyes could behold the picturesque grounds surrounding them.¹⁴⁷ Cranfield held a banquet at Chelsea House on 28 December 1621, and presumably the food, which included dried stuffs, preserves, pastes, fine comfits, and 'Rocke candes', would be served in the summer house, the extensive variety of the dishes impressing his guests.¹⁴⁸ Music was also often played within the banqueting house, and at Nonesuch the workmen involved in 'makeing upp the Banquettinge house in the walles belowe the ffountayne of diana' were also paid for 'frameinge and settinge upp a little roome for the musicions there'.¹⁴⁹ The garden setting of these unique structures, then, was so that the owner could show off his landscaped grounds to the people he was entertaining. In the Elizabethan period many of the great houses, such as

¹⁴⁶ Stanley-Millson and Newman, "Blickling Hall," pp. 37-8.

¹⁴⁷ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 106; Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 157.

¹⁴⁸ LPL, MSS 1228, fols. 46-49.

¹⁴⁹ TNA, E351/3244, Account of Andrew Kerwyn, paymaster, between 1 April 1609 and 30 September 1610.

Longleat, Hardwick and Chatsworth, included banqueting houses situated on the roof, which would of course maximise the viewing potential.¹⁵⁰

Ingram was building a new banqueting house at York in 1632. John Matteson's accounts reveal that bricks were used to construct the edifice, which had a wooden framed roof covered with lead, and a paved floor. The painter Daniel was paid for 'colouring over the new banqueting house with oker' as well as for 'gilding the banquet ho.', suggesting it was elaborately decorated.¹⁵¹ Four years later at Temple Newsam more than one banqueting house was clearly in construction as Ingram's daughter-in-law, Frances Bellasis, wrote to inform him that 'one of yor litle Bankettinge howses is fynished to the rooffe and thother begune'.¹⁵² Ingram certainly had at least two banqueting houses at Temple Newsam, and other members of the gentry also desired more than one, Sir Thomas Holte wished two banqueting houses to be erected in his garden at Aston Hall, near Birmingham.¹⁵³ Ingram may even have had three banqueting houses as the fact his daughter-in-law refers to the banqueting houses as 'litle' in her letter implies there was also a larger banqueting house. Work recorded in John Ramshawe's account in 1634 lists payment to the bricklayer for sixteen rood 'of the Banquetinge house', which was presumably the larger summer house, constructed slightly earlier than the two smaller ones, which was probably the work of John Wilton.¹⁵⁴ In Kip's view of Temple Newsam a Palladian style garden building and two smaller pavilions at either end of the terrace are visible. It has been claimed that the larger classical structure was the summer house built by Ingram in the 1630s, and it may

¹⁵⁰ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, p. 105.

¹⁵¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/18; WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/16.

¹⁵² WYASL, WYL100/C/3/81, 9 May 1636.

¹⁵³ Fairclough, "John Thorpe and Aston Hall," p. 41.

¹⁵⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/1; see Chapter 3 pp. 130-1.

also be the case that the two smaller buildings were the ‘litle Bankettinge howses’ referred to by Frances Bellasis.¹⁵⁵ However, one must be cautious in deducing this, as just as Strong’s claim that the garden layout recorded by Kip showed the grounds laid out by Ingram can be questioned by archival evidence, so can the representation of the banqueting houses. John Etty was paid for making a new roof for the banqueting house in May 1675, and although this may have been just repair work, it could also have changed the shape or style of the roof in the process.¹⁵⁶

There are no records of Cranfield building banqueting houses at any of his residences, although the summer house at Chelsea was clearly part of the grounds when he resided there, and a banqueting house was listed in an inventory for Pishiobury taken in 1662, which could have possibly been from Cranfield’s time there.¹⁵⁷ Although it cannot be proven that there was a banqueting house at Pishiobury whilst Cranfield owned the estate, arbours, another form of garden structure, were definitely made there at Cranfield’s request. Sheppard had trouble acquiring ashen poles to build the arbours, as ‘non in this Conterie will cut them so yonge’, so he set two men to work to get some, presumably outside of the county.¹⁵⁸ Willow poles could also be used but would require repairing in three years, whereas ashen poles ‘may well indure without repairing for ten years’.¹⁵⁹ The men were obviously successful in their task as two months later one arbour had been made, whilst three others were to be started once Potter, the gardener, returned from another job.¹⁶⁰ These four ‘Lyttell’ arbours were ‘at the going in of the knot’ and would provide views of the knot from all corners. There was presumably a

¹⁵⁵ Strong, *Renaissance Garden*, p. 185.

¹⁵⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/3.

¹⁵⁷ TNA, Prob/4/5021.

¹⁵⁸ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1323], 8 January 1613.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Hill, *The Gardener’s Labyrinth*, (1652), ed. Richard Mabey, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 45-6.

¹⁶⁰ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1330], 11 March 1613.

covered walkway from the terrace to the knot as Potter required poles to ‘hould upp the thing he hathe set betwixt the tarras and the knott’.¹⁶¹ This may have resembled the ‘tunnel’ arbours at Wilton in the 1630s.¹⁶² Arbours were not new garden features but they were by no means going out of favour; Nonesuch gardens contained a dozen arbours when the parliamentary survey was carried out in 1650.¹⁶³

7.3 Planting

*Another world was search’d, through oceans new,
To find the marvel of Peru*¹⁶⁴

During the early seventeenth century, many rare flowers and plants began to be imported from all over the world. The nurseryman John Tradescant the elder himself visited Holland, Paris, Russia, and Algiers bringing back specimens from each place.¹⁶⁵ Many of these imported plants and flowers could be seen in Robert Cecil’s gardens at Hatfield, where John Tradescant had been employed from the beginning of January 1610 until 1614, working for Sir Robert’s son William, after the former’s death in 1612. Tradescant shipped in rare trees, fruits, flowers, plants and seeds from Holland and Paris to enrich Cecil’s gardens. It was not only Tradescant, however, who stocked Cecil’s garden; Marie de Medici sent fruit trees, along with gardeners to set them, in November 1611.¹⁶⁶

Tradescant’s own garden was in Lambeth, and was one of a rising number of nurseries in and around London which had recently been established. The trade began to flourish

¹⁶¹ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1330], 11 March 1613.

¹⁶² Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 152.

¹⁶³ Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden*, p. 151.

¹⁶⁴ Marvell, *The Mower against Gardens*, lines 17-8.

¹⁶⁵ Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants*.

¹⁶⁶ TNA, SP/14/67.

in the late sixteenth early seventeenth century, with nurserymen such as Ralph Tuggy of Westminster, Vincent Pointer alias Corbet of Twickenham, and John Millen of Old Street north of the City of London, setting up business.¹⁶⁷ There was also the Banbury family in Tothill Street, Westminster, who ran a nursery there for over a century, along with their basket-making business. Yorkshire gentlemen such as Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir Arthur the younger's brother-in-law, bought fruit trees from this nursery.¹⁶⁸ Although Yorkshire did not begin to compete in the nursery trade until the late seventeenth early eighteenth century, with York being the earliest to establish a market garden in 1665 and certainly a nursery by 1695, the region was ahead of the north-west of England where many nurseries did not materialise until after 1760.¹⁶⁹ This signifies, once again, that it was regionality rather than the north-south divide that was influential on cultural and economic developments.

The cultivation of rare and specialised flora was not restricted to the capital. William Lawson, author of *A New Orchard and Garden*, lived in Teesside, and within the subtitle of his gardening treatise expressed his clear intention of providing practical advice on how to 'make any ground good for a rich orchard: particularly in the North'. Although Lawson clearly stated the limitations of the northern climate he also recognised nature's ability to adapt to its environs, 'the grafts brought from South to us in the North, although they take and thrive, (which is somewhat doubtful, by reason of the difference of clime and carriage,) yet shall they in time fashion themselves to our cold Northern soil, in growth taste, &c.'¹⁷⁰ Lawson's book, then, was the first gardening

¹⁶⁷ Jim Gould, "The Tuggys of Westminster," *Garden History* 20:1 (Spring, 1992): 83-86; John H. Harvey, "Leonard Gurle's Nurseries and Some Others," *Garden History* 3:3 (Summer, 1975): 42-49, (p. 42).

¹⁶⁸ Harvey, "Leonard Gurle's Nurseries and Some Others," p. 42.

¹⁶⁹ Harvey, "The Supply of Plants in the North-West," pp. 34-35.

¹⁷⁰ Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, p. 32.

manual that gave specific instructions suited to northern conditions. A letter written between 1622 and 1625 to a prospective buyer of Fountains Hall in North Yorkshire, reveals that Lawson's contemporaries were surprised to find fruitful gardens in the north; '[t]heire is Orchards and walkes well furnished wth deinty fruities and the last yere there was suche abundance of Ripe and goodly Grapes hanginge and growinge upon a highe [?Rocke] theire as I think the Northe coulde not shoue the like.'¹⁷¹ Fine productive gardens were clearly attainable in the north and Sir John Reresby's garden at Thrybergh in Yorkshire was yet another example. His garden equalled gardens of national significance and even exceeded them in some respects, with his great variety of plums outstripping John Tradescant's number in his garden at Lambeth.¹⁷²

A list of fruit trees that Cranfield possessed survives but is undated and does not specify where the trees were situated. Although the date cannot be assumed, the property the trees were intended for can be surmised. The list of trees, which included cherry trees, was accompanied by a letter to Cranfield which states 'for cherie trees I shall have very good from Lewes, so that you need take no thought for them.'¹⁷³ Lewes, being in East Sussex, is nearest to Cranfield's house at Wiston, suggesting the trees were for the grounds there.¹⁷⁴ Cranfield also had fruit trees at Pishiobury as they had to be covered with nets to protect them from the wildlife as Sheppard reported to his master that the cherry trees were being eaten by geese and the Apricots by earwigs and flies.¹⁷⁵ This

¹⁷¹ BL, Harleian MSS 6853, fol. 450.

¹⁷² Jan Woudstra and Sally O'Halloran, "'The exactness and nicety of those things': Sir John Reresby's Garden Notebook and Garden (1633-44) at Thrybergh, Yorkshire," *Garden History* 36:1 (Summer, 2008): 135-193 (p. 141).

¹⁷³ CKS, U269/1 E44.

¹⁷⁴ The Centre for Kentish Studies catalogues the document as referring to Pishiobury, but this seems unlikely.

¹⁷⁵ CKS, U269/1 E19, 11 July 1612.

was a common problem for gardeners, and advice on how to deal with ‘annoyances’ could be sought in the manuals of the time.¹⁷⁶

The list of trees for Wiston included sixty-two plum trees containing fourteen different varieties, hardly comparing to Reresby’s forty different cultivars, or even the twenty-two sorts cultivated by Revd Walter Stonehouse, who also lived and gardened in Yorkshire.¹⁷⁷ Cranfield’s plums included the Queen Mother plum ‘a faire red plum, of a reasonable bignesse’, and the Nutmeg plum the tree of which ‘groweth very shrubby, and will abide good for six weekes at the least after it is gathered, and after all other plums are spent.’¹⁷⁸ Cranfield’s cherry trees included some of the Flanders variety, which according to Parkinson were not that different from the English cherry trees apart from the fact they were ‘somewhat larger, and the cherry somewhat greater and sweeter, and not so sower.’¹⁷⁹ In 1612 nails were bought at Pishiobury ‘to fasten the Treis to the wals’, and this process was still being carried out in 1620 by the gardeners at Cranfield’s Hertfordshire home, despite writers such as Lawson condemning the practice.¹⁸⁰ Bacon approved of having fruit trees ‘as well upon the walls as in ranges’, and it seems, like most aspects of garden design, it was mainly a matter of personal preference.¹⁸¹ Ingram also purchased ‘nailes and leathers for ye trees’ at York in 1629, indicating that he also attached trees to his garden and orchard walls.¹⁸² Sir Thomas Puckering was another gentleman who used this method at his home in Warwickshire;

¹⁷⁶ Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, p. 49; Sir Thomas Puckering bought five and a half fathoms of net to protect five of his cherry trees from being eaten by birds, *The Account Book and Inventory of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick and London*.

¹⁷⁷ CKS, U269/1 E44; Woudstra and O’Halloran, “Sir John Reresby’s Garden Notebook and Garden (1633-44) at Thrybergh, Yorkshire,” p. 141.

¹⁷⁸ Parkinson, *Paridisi in Sole Paridisi Terrestri*, pp. 576-8.

¹⁷⁹ Parkinson, *Paridisi in Sole Paridisi Terrestri*, p. 571.

¹⁸⁰ CKS, U269/1 E36, 4 January 1612; CKS, U269/1 E20/10 [ON6242], 17 January 1620; Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁸¹ Bacon, *Of Gardens*, p. 434.

¹⁸² WYASL, WYL100/YO/C/I, John Baker’s account, 7 May 1629.

he paid 4^d in May 1620 ‘for leathers used by him [the gardener] in nailing my fruit-trees to the walles.’¹⁸³

Although it is clear Ingram had orchards, there are no records noting the type or number of fruit trees he grew in them. Sir William Brereton, who visited Ingram’s York residence in 1635, commented that the garden included ‘large fair trees, but nothing well furnished with fruit,’ suggesting Ingram was more concerned with appearance than productivity.¹⁸⁴ The fact that Ingram’s accounts do not document the purchase of nets to protect any of his trees from wildlife, as Cranfield and Puckering’s do, supports the fact that Ingram’s trees were probably not fruit trees. On 4 May 1636, while Ingram was residing in London, he paid 3^s for half a hundred of apricockes suggesting that he did not grow his own, at least not in London.¹⁸⁵ He also purchased ‘hearbes & apples for a month’ when in London at a cost of £1 8^d, and 4^d worth of cherries, signifying that he did not possess a herb garden or apple and cherry trees either. As well as buying fruit to consume in London, Ingram also purchased fruit which he sent up to York. On 24 May 1634 he sent two dozen oranges and twelve lemons to York from the capital,¹⁸⁶ and on 20 February 1639 Matteson recorded the carriage of a box of blew figs from London weighing six pound coming to a cost of 9^d.¹⁸⁷ In 1629 James Howell, a historian and newsletter writer, wrote to Ingram at York stating ‘I have sent you herewith a hamper of Melons, the best I could find in any of Tothillfield gardens’.¹⁸⁸ This supports Brereton’s claim that Ingram cultivated little fruit at his home in York.

¹⁸³ *The Account Book and Inventory of Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwick and London.*

¹⁸⁴ Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, The United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland 1634-1635*, ed. Edward Hawkins, *Chetham Society*, o.s., 1 (1844), p. 73.

¹⁸⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

¹⁸⁶ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

¹⁸⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

¹⁸⁸ James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-elianae familiar letters domestic and forren divided into sundry sections, partly historicall, politicall, philosophicall, vpon emergent occasions*, (1650), p. 155.

Brereton also noted that Ingram's garden at York was 'not a third part furnished with flowers; but disposed into little beds, whereon placed statues, the beds all grass.'¹⁸⁹ However, the gardener, according to Brereton, was only allowed £10 a year to keep the gardens, so it is doubtful the money would have stretched to rare and expensive flowers.¹⁹⁰ Ingram, it seems, was more interested in the 'art' rather than the 'nature' aspect of his gardens and spent significant amounts of money on statues and terraces, while spending little on flowers, plants and fruit trees. The largest expense recorded on flowers was in the months of February and March 1639 when Ingram's servant Busby was given 17^s to buy flowers in London.¹⁹¹ It is not known if these flowers were for Ingram's London home or if they were sent to his northern residences, as other examples of Ingram shipping plants from London are recorded.¹⁹² The varieties of the flowers sent north were not rare, being roses, sweet briars and eglantine, and could presumably be procured locally so it is hard to understand why Ingram had them sent from London. It could possibly be due to the quantities he required, being able to get larger amounts from the nursery traders in London. He certainly acquired a great quantity of trees from London in January 1634, two hundred being sent to York.¹⁹³

From Matteson's account for 1639, when Ventris senior was paid to make flower pots in May and July, it would be easy to assume that Ingram had many flowers he wished to display in them.¹⁹⁴ The fact that Ventris cast lead to make the pots, however, suggests they were 'large, ornate, urn-type artefacts that were used as ornamental features within

¹⁸⁹ Brereton, *Travels in Holland, The United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland 1634-1635*, p. 73.

¹⁹⁰ Brereton, *Travels in Holland, The United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland 1634-1635*, p. 73.

¹⁹¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/41, 25 February and 1 March 1639.

¹⁹² WYASL, WYL178/4, 22 October 1622, 19 November 1623, 24 December 1623.

¹⁹³ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a.

¹⁹⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/30.

the garden', rather than the typical ceramic pots used for practical purposes. They may not have even contained flowers as Currie notes that such pots were 'generally notable for their decorative function'.¹⁹⁵ However, by 1641 when Sir Arthur was improving New Park, he was planting bay trees, pinkes (carnations/gillyflowers), honeysuckles, cinnamon roses, and some young vines, suggesting flowers were perhaps becoming a more important presence in his gardens.¹⁹⁶

As we have seen, the lack of commercial gardeners in the north did not necessarily mean northern gentleman could not acquire rare or specialised plants and flowers. Transporting horticultural specimens from London was common, but there also appeared to be much trading between friends and local contacts. Sir John Reresby received plants from his neighbours, one of whom was Ingram's patron Thomas Wentworth.¹⁹⁷ Ingram himself received fifty trees from 'Mr Malleverer's man', presumably Thomas Maleverer of Allerton Mauleverer who was a Justice of the Peace, on 12 April 1637 for £20.¹⁹⁸ This practice also happened just as frequently in the south of England. In Hertfordshire, Chamberlain recorded receiving 'fowre or five flowers from Sir Rafe Winwod that cost twelve pound,' which were presumably for Sir Henry Fanshawe, owner of Ware Park where Chamberlain was residing at that time.¹⁹⁹ Cranfield composed a list of trees and flowers which he was to receive from various friends for his gardens and orchards at Milcote in August 1638. The Countess of Arundel was to provide 'Imperiall Bayes good store, Hony Suckles of the Best Kynd,

¹⁹⁵ C. K. Currie, "The Archaeology of the Flowerpot in England and Wales, circa 1650-1950," *Garden History* 21:2 (Winter, 1993): 227-246 (p. 227).

¹⁹⁶ WYASL, WYL100/C/3/262, letter from John Wiggins to Sir Arthur Ingram, 1 December 1641; WYL100/C/3/281, Wiggins to Ingram, 25 December 1641.

¹⁹⁷ Woudstra and O'Halloran, "Sir John Reresby's Garden Notebook and Garden (1633-44) at Thrybergh, Yorkshire," pp. 137-8.

¹⁹⁸ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/23.

¹⁹⁹ *Chamberlain*, I, Letter 114, 20 April 1609, p. 290.

Doble stocke gilliflowers ... some Excellent Gilliflowers, Doble violets Blewe white store, some Trees of the sweet Blewe, some principall good Tulippes, collyfflowers of the Beste kynde'.²⁰⁰ These were all very desirable kinds of flora, especially tulips, which were at their peak in Holland, resulting in 'tulipomania', and which Parkinson believed no 'Lady or gentleman of any worth' could not help but be 'delighted' with them.²⁰¹ Indeed, Cranfield's wife had previously described Milcote as 'parradise' in a letter to him.²⁰²

In relation to statues, automata, and fountains, flowers and trees were viewed as the natural part of the garden. Even horticulture could be artificial though, and Marvell condemned the doctoring of flowers and trees in his poem. He not only criticised the process of grafting, but also the practice of colouring flowers, 'With strange perfumes he did the roses taint, / And flowers themselves were taught to paint.'²⁰³ Instruction on how to enrich the hues of flowers could be found in literature; Markham provided examples, one being the steeping of lily seeds in red wine to create red petals.²⁰⁴ Along with these nonsensical practices, other forms of human intervention, such as grafting, although going against nature, were actually very productive and enhanced plants for pragmatic rather than aesthetic reasons. Lawson gave detailed advice on how to graft and dress trees, and believed the greatest harm that could come to an orchard was to neglect the dressing of trees.²⁰⁵ It was these sections of the gardening manuals which

²⁰⁰ CKS, U269/1 E360.

²⁰¹ Parkinson, *Paridisi in Sole Paridisus Terrestris*, p. 9.

²⁰² CKS, U269/1 CP75, 7 November 1636.

²⁰³ Marvell, *The Mower against Gardens*, lines 11-12.

²⁰⁴ Markham, *An English Husbandman*, p. 35.

²⁰⁵ Lawson, *An New Orchard and Garden*, p. 36.

were most pertinent for the ‘Players’, as Mowl describes the professional paid gardeners.²⁰⁶

7.4 Tending

*And fauns and fairies do the meadows till,
More by their presence than their skill.*²⁰⁷

The fauns and fairies, at one with nature, did not need to be taught how to care for their habitat but the Jacobean gardener needed to acquire horticultural skills that could aid his employer’s desire for an aesthetically pleasing surrounding to his home. This training could be achieved through membership of the Worshipful Company of Gardeners. Although the company dated back to the fourteenth century, it was not until 1605 that it was incorporated by Royal Charter, indicating that the trade was becoming recognised as a profession in its own right.²⁰⁸

Just as architecture must have three essential qualities, *firmitas, utilitas, and venustas*, a gardener must have ‘three especiall vertues ... Diligence, Industry, and Art’.²⁰⁹ At Cranfield’s first country estate, he employed a gardener called Potter who could scarcely be called industrious. Sheppard often commented that he went very ‘sloly forward’ with his work, and was presumably what Lawson would have termed ‘an idle or lazy Lubber’.²¹⁰ Cranfield clearly improved on his choice of gardeners, employing Edward Brill to work on the grounds of his Chelsea home in the 1620s. Brill’s work was obviously up to standard as on 22 June 1620 Henry Finch wrote to Cranfield entreating

²⁰⁶ Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players*, p. ix.

²⁰⁷ Marvell, *The Mower against Gardens*, lines 35-6.

²⁰⁸ Francis, “Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558 – c.1630,” p. 28.

²⁰⁹ Markham, *An English Husbandman*, p. 105

²¹⁰ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1329] 27 February 1613; Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden*, p. 2.

him to send Brill to help him at his house in Chancery Lane.²¹¹ Cranfield was probably able to spare him for a while as there was often more than one gardener on each estate due to the great extent of upkeep. Thomas Huntley was also recorded as a gardener at Chelsea in 1622.²¹² It appears that gardeners often went between employers for certain periods, as Potter (the 'lazy Lubber') had been to 'plesur Sr Jon Joels and his Mr Ingrime' in March 1613.²¹³ Cecil's gardener Mountain Jennings was paid by the King's Works to aid Prince Henry's garden plans at Richmond, and was paid by them 'for ryding from Hatfeild to Richmond about this service at severall tymes'.²¹⁴ Ingram also consulted other gardeners. In August 1638 he paid £1 to 'Sr Wm Farefaxes gardiner about dreyning ye ponds'.²¹⁵

Weeding was an activity usually carried out by women or children, presumably because it required less horticultural knowledge than other aspects of gardening. It still required a certain amount of skill however, expressed by Thomas Hill in his manual *The Gardener's Labyrinth*, by the fact he devoted a whole chapter to the practice.²¹⁶ Weeders were often kin of the gardeners working on the estate, and this was usually the case with the weeders employed by Ingram and Cranfield. The women were often named with the prefix 'goodwife', and then a surname matching one of the male

²¹¹ CKS, U269/1 CP44 [ON6852].

²¹² CKS, U269/1 AP43.

²¹³ CKS, U269/1 E19 [ON1330]. It is uncertain whether this is Sir Arthur Ingram as no one of the name Sir John Joels has been found in Ingram's accounts. However, Arthur Ingram leased a plot of land at Stratford-le-Bowe to a gardener called John Potter in 1613 (WYASL, WYL100/LO/Stratford-le-Bowe), and Ingram's accounts of 1615-6 record a John Potter being paid for workmen at Ingram's house at Bowe when considerable gardening work was being carried out, WYASL, WYL100/PO6/II/7/4.

²¹⁴ TNA, E101/433/15, 1612.

²¹⁵ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/25.

²¹⁶ Hill, *The Gardener's Labyrinth*, (1652), pp. 77-9. Hill's book draws largely on his earlier publications with various titles from *A most briefe and pleasaunte treatyse, teachynge howe to dress, sowe, and set a garden* (1563) to *The Profitable Arte of Gardening* (1568). The first edition of *The Gardener's Labyrinth* was printed in 1577, with several editions appearing before 1652.

workers on site.²¹⁷ Cranfield also paid the sexton's daughter and sister for weeding his gardens at Pishiobury, along with some of his male tenants.²¹⁸ Weeders were never paid more than 6^d a day, with Anne Pearce, working for Cranfield at his house in St Bartholomew's, being paid as little as 2^d a day in 1628.²¹⁹ This low rate represents not only the low value placed on the task as it required less skill than other jobs but also the sex of the worker.²²⁰ There is evidence in Cranfield's papers that weeders, especially long serving ones, were valued by their employers as Cranfield paid out a total of £2 7^s 10^d for the funeral of William Bye who was the head of a weeding company employed at Copt Hall.²²¹ Ingram also used a 'company' of weeders to tend his gardens at Sheriff Hutton, which was headed by Margaret Ellis.²²²

Just as Cranfield often paid his craftsmen greater wages than Ingram did, he also paid his gardeners more. Cranfield's gardener at Copt Hall was paid 10^d a day in 1624 and in 1641, whilst his gardener at St. Bartholomew's was paid 12^d a day in 1630.²²³ Ingram's gardeners were paid considerably less than Cranfield's, his gardener at Temple Newsam only received 4^d a day in 1632, however that was doubled to 8^d per day by 1634.²²⁴ These are very isolated figures though and cannot be used to assume a north-south divide in wage rates. However, the figures further support the findings of Chapter 5, showing that London wages were higher than provincial wages, with Cranfield's gardener working at St. Bartholomew's receiving the highest wage rate.

²¹⁷ BL, EG1933; CKS, U269 A516/2; CKS, U269 A409.

²¹⁸ CKS, U269/1 E36; CKS, U269/1 AP45 [ON8070].

²¹⁹ CKS, U269 A516/2; weeders at Gorhambury in 1637 were paid 6^d per day, see *Early Stuart Household Accounts*, p. 88.

²²⁰ See Chapter 5, p. 288 for women's wage rates.

²²¹ CKS, U269 A409.

²²² WYASL, WYL100/SH/G/6.

²²³ CKS U269 A405/1; CKS U269 A409; CKS, U269 A516/1.

²²⁴ WYASL, WYL100/EA/12/10/1.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that gardens and grounds were just as important as houses for self-presentation and were used by Ingram and Cranfield in their projection of their image. Cranfield's gardens were evidently admired and received recognition from his peers; Elizabeth Coventry gushed about her autumn stay at Copt Hall 'the sight of your garden with flower as fresh and sweet as in the Springe I never saw the like,' whereas at Pishiobury some lords and ladies, 'as many as filled 2 coches wthe 4 horsses' came to view his house, orchards, and gardens.²²⁵ Ingram's gardens too were visited by many, but were not always described in glowing terms. Aston's remarks on Ingram's topiary, however, reflect personal opinion and it has become clear throughout this discussion that personal preference was one of the main influences on garden design. Cranfield's acquisition of rare flora and his lack of statues suggests he was more drawn to the horticultural elements of the garden than Ingram was, whereas Ingram commissioned many statues for his grounds but, as Brereton noted, his gardens lacked flora, suggesting that for Ingram gardening was possibly more about art, less about nature.

It is also evident from this discussion that social networks were just as important as geographical location in maintaining a fruitful garden. Gardeners in the north could easily acquire plants from London, but also made use of local contacts (who themselves may have initially procured the flora from London). In the south there was just as much exchange in horticultural produce between friends, despite closer proximity to the London nursery trade. The northern climate and conditions of soil was not as well suited to gardening as southern climes but despite this gardens such as Sir John Reresby's excelled. Ingram, then, was not in any way disadvantaged in comparison with Cranfield

²²⁵ CKS, U269/1 CP30; CKS, U269/1 E20/10 [ON6237].

due to his country estates being located in the north. In fact, Yorkshire appears to have been somewhat of a breeding ground for gardening enthusiasts with the botanist Thomas Johnson (who revised Gerard's *Herbal*), among others, originating from there, and of course William Lawson living and gardening in the region.²²⁶ There is also little reason to believe northern gardens were any less current than southern ones. Admittedly, Ingram's grounds included 'old-fashioned' features such as heraldic statues, knots, and mounts, but as has been shown, so did many southern gardens, even gardens of royal residences in some cases. Ingram's gardens also included many desirable features such as stone terraces, banqueting houses, and possibly even a grotto, proving that personal preference may be just as important a consideration as that of adherence to current trends when analysing garden design of the period. Ingram and Cranfield's cultivation of their gardens and the features they employed within them projected their recently elevated positions and implies that they realised the importance of the grounds, as well as their houses, in their attempt to consolidate their place in the social hierarchy.

²²⁶ John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore, 1974), p. 11.

Conclusion

A brief analysis of the deaths and legacies of Ingram and Cranfield helps to summarise the key points discussed in this study. Although neither man requested to be buried at Westminster Abbey it seems fitting that they were both interred in the same place. Cranfield stated in his draft will that he wished to be buried at the ‘Colledge church In the Cittye of Glostr’, but this is perhaps because, as related below, he did not think his estate could burden the cost of an elaborate funeral and burial.¹ Ingram, however, was more concerned about the practicalities of his burial. In his will he stated that ‘my body ... may be buried att yorke if I happen to die there or neere unto itt or att London yf I happen to die there or neere unto itt.’² This also confirms that Ingram was a man of both cities and refused to be defined as either a northerner or a southerner. The funerals and burials of both men reflected the different ranks they held; Cranfield, as an earl, paid £30 for his burial whereas Ingram, as a knight, only paid £20.³ Cranfield was ‘honourably conveyed from Dorsett Howse ... to Westmr Abby in funerall pompe according to his degree ... being accompanied wth divers of the nobility, & severall of the members of the house of comons who followed in Coaches’.⁴ It must be presumed that it was Cranfield’s son-in-law, Richard Sackville, 5th Earl of Dorset, (who lived at Dorset House) that paid for the ‘funeral pompe’ according to Cranfield’s degree as Cranfield himself stated that his descendents should ‘avoyed the chardge of buryall

¹ CKS, U269/1 T45.

² TNA, Prob/11/190.

³ WAM, MSS 6408, 1645; MSS 6357B, fol. 3^v.

⁴ TNA, SP16/510 fol. 69, Funeral certificate of Lionel Cranfield, drafted by William Ryley, Lancaster Herald.

according to my degre my estate being unable to beare it'.⁵ Ingram's will also made it clear that he wished to be buried 'without unnecessary pompe or ... expence'.⁶ Stone notes that extravagant funerals were less common as the seventeenth century progressed and that the wills of elite members of society began to pointedly demand a less expensive burial.⁷

Ingram and Cranfield certainly adhered to this trend, and although it could be argued that Cranfield's request was because he realised he could not afford an elaborate ceremony rather than the fact he did not *want* a grand burial, it has already been noted that he forbore pomp in his role as Lord Treasurer.⁸ Ingram and Cranfield's old associate from the Mitre Club, John Donne, did not mention expense in his will but stated that he wished to 'be buried in the most privat manner that may be'.⁹ Funerals began to be carried out at night by some noblemen which not only proved more economical as there was no need for elaborate display but also provided the privacy many came to desire.¹⁰ Just as space within the early modern home became more intimate so did funerals. Ingram's accounts listed £13 spent on lights just after his funeral, including '30 dusson of tortches', suggesting he may have been buried at night in a private manner.¹¹ Ingram had certainly adhered to the trend for privacy within his homes, dividing rooms to create smaller more intimate spaces.¹² The fact that Ingram's grave is unmarked, with the only evidence to prove he was buried at Westminster being

⁵ CKS, U269/1 T45.

⁶ TNA, Prob/11/190, will made 15 August 1640, proved 10 September 1642.

⁷ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 577.

⁸ Chamberlain reported that Cranfield went to take his oath at the exchequer 'without any shew or traine of followers,' *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 392, 20 October 1621, p. 403; II, Letter 391, 13 October 1621, p. 400.

⁹ TNA, Prob/1/5, Will of John Donne, made 13 December 1630, proved 7 April 1631.

¹⁰ Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*, p. 577.

¹¹ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 27 August 1642.

¹² See Chapter 4, p. 211.

stored in the Abbey Muniments, implies that his funeral was not a grand occasion.¹³ Cranfield's funeral, on the other hand, appears to have been more opulent, being attended by 'divers of the nobility, & severall of the members of the house of comons', confirming that it was not a private affair.¹⁴

Although it is hard to estimate the cost of Cranfield's burial, the sums disbursed by other eminent courtiers such as Robert Cecil, whose funeral and feast at Hatfield on 9 June 1612 cost £2,000, give a rough idea.¹⁵ By contrast, Ingram's funeral cost £39 1^s 8^d altogether, with the greatest expense, apart from the breaking of the ground, going to the organist and singing men, who were paid £6 13^s 4^d, reflecting his love of music which had been sated during his life through the purchase of musical instruments, such as harps, virginals and organs.¹⁶ Ingram's coffin was made by his joiner William Glover, costing roughly £2, whereas Cranfield's tomb cost £300 according to the estimate drawn up by Nicholas Stone in 1639.¹⁷ Ingram used Glover to make his coffin, a joiner whom he had employed for many years for other work about his house at Westminster. Cranfield, on the other hand, sought out the leading expert in the field to design his tomb. Their choices for their burials reflect the way they conducted their building programmes throughout their lives; Ingram using trusted craftsmen on a variety of different projects, such as the Ventrises, Cranfield going one step further by commissioning specialist artificers for certain tasks, such as Stone for his tomb and Jones for his gateway.¹⁸ The fact that Cranfield was entombed in Westminster Abbey gave him one last chance to project his image to society. Visiting the monuments at

¹³ Even Ingram's biographer Upton wrote that he was buried in York Minster, p. 258.

¹⁴ TNA, SP16/510, fol. 69.

¹⁵ Stone, *Family & Fortune*, p. 55.

¹⁶ WAM, MSS 6357C, 26 August 1642; see Chapter 2, p. 70.

¹⁷ WYASL, WYL100/EA/13/19a, 24 and 30 August 1642; CKS, U269 E291/3.

¹⁸ See Chapter 5.

Westminster was already so popular in the 1580s that a keeper was appointed, so Cranfield's tomb would be seen by many people.¹⁹ It depicted Cranfield as a pious stately man and this image of him would be the only impression many people will have got of him, which will have furthered his reputation as a man of stature.²⁰

Other enduring images Ingram and Cranfield left of their identities included their portraits. The black dress they wore in their portraits presents them as reverent, constant men, attempting to align themselves with noble men of ancient lineage.²¹ Although they were not part of the established gentry they rose quickly within their lifetimes, both men being granted arms which they displayed in all manner of places, such as on their tableware.²² Cranfield climbed especially high within just one generation. In their rise in status Ingram and Cranfield were definitely not exceptional but were part of a phenomenon which reached its peak during late Tudor and early Stuart England. James' sale of honours to raise crown revenue meant that it was easier than ever to achieve higher status through wealth alone, with no consideration of ancient lineage. As the fortunes of Ingram and Cranfield showed, the relation of wealth and status was not interdependent. Cranfield rose higher than Ingram but, although he retained his title after his impeachment, he was significantly poorer than Ingram who was of lower status than him. Indeed, both men fared differently after their rebuffs from court. Cranfield never achieved the same success and wealth again, whereas Ingram turned his failure into an opportunity to establish a successful life for himself and his family in the north.

¹⁹ Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 162.

²⁰ See Chapter 4, p. 201.

²¹ See Chapter 2, pp. 86-7.

²² See Chapter 6, p. 354.

Indeed, in 1624 Chamberlain described Ingram as being in ‘Yorkshire (where he was in all his glory)’.²³

Ingram founded a dynasty which survived into the twentieth century, the Viscount Irwins remaining at Temple Newsam, the country seat Ingram had bought and renovated three hundred years earlier. Cranfield’s name did not endure as long as Ingram’s as his youngest surviving son Lionel, who became the third Earl of Middlesex, had no issue. Therefore the family line was carried on through Cranfield’s daughter Frances who had married into the Sackville family. Cranfield’s houses did not last long in the family either, but some of their contents did survive and were removed to the Sackville country seat at Knole at the turn of the eighteenth century. Three of Ingram’s homes survive in good condition with features he installed in the seventeenth century still visible. His work at Temple Newsam, New Lodge and New Park remains as testament to his industrious building campaign. Ingram’s material legacy in the north of England, then, is much more visible today than Cranfield’s in the south.

Throughout this study it has become apparent that there was no clear north-south divide in relation to the home life of members of the elite, but that regionality and the divide between metropolitan and provincial areas was much more significant. After analysing the styles employed by both men in the construction and decoration of their homes it is clear that Cranfield was more progressive than Ingram, using classical features and adornments, whereas Ingram relied more heavily on mannerist conceits.²⁴ It was not only the geographical position of their residences that influenced this choice in style, however, as it has been shown that many other patrons in the south used mannerist

²³ *Chamberlain*, II, Letter 460, 23 October 1624, p. 585.

²⁴ See Chapter 4.

features within their homes just as classicism was also employed in the north. Court connections and personal preference also played their part, with Cranfield being able to secure the expertise of Inigo Jones and his classicist style, through his position as Lord Treasurer.

Acquiring skilled craftsmen was not dependent on which half of the country one inhabited either but was similarly linked to networks. Craftsmen that already worked on site often recommended other artificers, such as when Ventris suggested a plasterer from Northampton to work at Ingram's house in York.²⁵ Ingram also employed bricklayers from London to work on his northern homes, further confirming that the north-south divide was more myth than fact. The wage rates of artificers cements this theory as craftsmen in the south were paid similar rates to those in the north, excluding London.²⁶ Chapter 5 has shown that the concept of a metropolitan and provincial dichotomy is more appropriate when evaluating economic factors affecting craftsmen, and that regionality was also influential, re-inforcing Woodward's research.

The use of building materials was evidently connected to region due to the geological map of England.²⁷ Using local materials was a common practice as they could be procured for less money as carriage costs would be minimal. In certain areas, however, where particular materials were lacking patrons imported what they needed. Builders in the south acquired just as many materials from the north as the northerners did from the south. For example, stone from Huddleston quarry in Yorkshire was used by the King's Works on the banqueting house at Whitehall. The use of specific building materials

²⁵ See Chapter 5, pp. 274-5.

²⁶ See Chapter 5, p. 282.

²⁷ See Chapter 5, pp. 225-242.

helped to project a certain image of the owner. Cranfield's use of Portland and Purbeck stone and Ingram's of Huddleston stone, for example, signified that they were conscious of the best quality materials. The use of Portland stone, in particular, not only added prestige to Cranfield's buildings but reflected his ability to acquire a material which became limited in the capital due to its popularity. The cost of materials differed due to a variety of reasons, such as supply and demand and mode of production, but the north-south divide was not a significant factor. Similarly, carriage costs were affected by proximity to water routes rather than a north-south dichotomy.

An evaluation of Ingram and Cranfield's gardens has also provided evidence that, like architecture, the style and features of garden design were not sub-standard in the north.²⁸ Climate obviously played a part in the cultivation of flowers and plants, and the north was at a disadvantage in this aspect, but examples of successful gardeners in Yorkshire and Teesside suggest that this obstacle could be overcome. In terms of ornament within the grounds, Ingram favoured heraldic statues which have been considered slightly out-dated by many garden historians but as this thesis has shown, royal palaces in the south still retained these and other features, such as mounts. Ingram's employment of terraces, fountains, and possibly a grotto, in the north, align him with other eminent patrons in the south, such as the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton and, of course, Cranfield at Chelsea and Copt Hall. Personal preference was clearly just as important as geographical location in determining garden design, as it had been on architecture.

²⁸ See Chapter 7.

Distance from London did not deter the northern elite from shopping there, either in person or through an agent, and it also did not mean they could not acquire luxury goods from other urban areas.²⁹ Market towns and specialist industries at the location of raw materials provided provincial customers with the means to obtain sumptuous goods not only from the capital. Ingram regularly bought goods from York, and often sent items to London, suggesting he preferred the quality (or price) of the items he could acquire in York better than in London. If he was prepared to pay carriage costs to transport items to London from York then it can be assumed that it was not just the price of the items that was a consideration. Ingram's northern homes were decorated with luxurious items of furniture such as couches, and were colour co-ordinated as was the new fashion from France.³⁰ Cranfield, too, adorned his homes with sumptuous goods, yet even at Chelsea complete schemes of unification were not carried out, as shown in the suite of red furniture located in the black chamber. Both men decorated their houses with paintings and hangings, which not only revealed aspects of their religious identities but also their social mobility. For Cranfield to have portraits by Mytens and Van Dyck hanging in his home would have identified him as a leading patron of the arts, able to secure the work of the king's artists.

In terms of hospitality, both Ingram and Cranfield were guilty of being absent from their country estates for long periods of time, yet when they were in the provinces they did provide noteworthy hospitality, being praised, in particular, by John Taylor.³¹ Taylor reported that he had received greater hospitality in the north than the south and it has been suggested that northern householders were probably more eager to entertain

²⁹ See Chapter 6, pp. 344-5.

³⁰ See Chapter 6, pp. 297-8.

³¹ See Chapter 6, pp. 360-1.

travellers to hear news from the capital. Yet Ingram had no need to resort to this as he was certainly not isolated from London. Therefore, his reasoning for being bounteous was probably to support the image he had moulded as a virtuous gentleman and to further his reputation. As Heal has noted, good housekeeping was identified as an attribute of true gentility.³² Acts of hospitality and philanthropy were used by Ingram and Cranfield as a way of shaping society's view of them. Ingram's establishment of an almshouse in York marked him out to the community as a righteous man whilst at the same time displaying his wealth and power, whereas Cranfield's dole to the poor at Chelsea defined him as a moral being whilst confirming the social hierarchy, where Cranfield was teetering near the top. Both men also gave money to worthy causes such as prisoners, orphanages, schools, and the repair of St Paul's Cathedral.

Although Ingram and Cranfield's building programmes have been neglected by historians they were clearly noted by their contemporaries, Cranfield's architectural pursuits being vindicated by Henry Wotton's presentation of his influential treatise to him whereas Ingram's expertise in building was given credence by the Earl of Holland's decision to put his confidence in him as overseer of the renovations at his house in Kensington. Their house-building gave them the chance to cement their rise in social status even after they had failed in their government positions. The court was not the only arena in which they portrayed their social stature; the communities in which they lived provided an opportunity to project their advanced wealth and power, particularly for Ingram who created an image of a successful northern landlord. Ingram was perhaps able to project a more satisfactory image of himself as a powerful man in his later years

³² Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 23.

than Cranfield as he chose a region that was not defined by the court in which to do it.³³ Ingram played a significant part in local politics in the north but Cranfield had chosen to stay in the counties near to London which were saturated by competitive courtiers to be overshadowed by his contemporaries. As Chapter 3 argues, this may be why Ingram carried out more large-scale rebuilding than Cranfield as he was establishing himself in a region which housed few courtiers and therefore did not already contain houses which reflected current trends at court. Many of Cranfield's houses had previously been homes to courtiers and therefore did not require as much up-dating as properties in Yorkshire may have done.

Just as the area in which Ingram and Cranfield strove to project their images affected how successful they were in their self-fashioning, so did their own characters.³⁴ Although this thesis has concentrated on Ingram's and Cranfield's struggle to manipulate a self-image that fitted their social mobility, it was clearly not only their humble origins that were a disadvantage. Both men were also lacking in virtue and morality. Even the way they acquired their houses, often through the exploitation of other gentlemen in financial difficulties, exemplifies their dishonest natures.³⁵ They were opportunists who were prepared to ruin others to achieve their ambitions. This ruthless attitude may have helped them rise up through society but it was also why they fell. Ingram was rebuffed from court as the household officers were not prepared to work under a man with such a scandalous reputation, and Cranfield was so arrogant as to believe he was so indispensable to James that he could instruct the future king on his marriage and oppose the court favourite. So although Ingram and Cranfield's self-

³³ See Chapter 3, p. 176.

³⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 66-7.

³⁵ See Chapter 1, pp. 17-9.

fashioning was flawed, it was just as much down to the character traits they possessed as their lack of ancient lineage. In fact, it could be argued that it was predominantly their dishonourable characters that sabotaged their self-fashioning as in infiltrating the world of the courtier they had both proved that their humble origins had not prevented their ascendancy, it was maintaining their newly-elevated positions which proved difficult for them.

Their buildings, as visual manifestations of their rise in social stature, remained respected by their peers even if their characters were disliked. Despite their personal flaws their houses still projected an image of them as powerful members of the elite. In an age where both the *nouveaux riches* and the ancient nobility were building to establish or consolidate their stature Ingram and Cranfield joined an aristocratic elite which shared a common culture that was obsessed with image. Geographically, this common culture was not affected by any north-south divide, it was rather a question of distinction between the metropolis (especially court circles) and the provinces. Provincial gentlemen who had connections to the court, such as Ingram, however, were not disadvantaged in their desires to be part of this common culture. Through the architectural styles and designs Ingram and Cranfield deployed, the materials they utilised, the workmen they commissioned, the goods they bought, the hospitality they provided, and the gardens they laid out, they re-inforced the identities they had self-fashioned which were influenced by their learning, attire, and social connections. These two men suffered due to their own character flaws yet also faced prejudice at the hands of their contemporaries for their humble birth, and until now, have largely been neglected by modern historians. This study has shown how Ingram and Cranfield, as

both characters and builders, can add much more to the history of early Stuart England than just their political and commercial activities.

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